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NEW ASPECTS OF THE MENON PAINTER

BY

H. R. W. SMITH

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Volume 1, No. 1, pp. 1–64, plates 1–6, 9 figures in text

A Dissertation presented to the
Faculty of Princeton University
in Candidacy for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy by
H. R. W. SMITH.

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PREFACE

This essay, in substantially its present form, was submitted as a dissertation for the Princeton doctorate of philosophy in April 1927. Before that, in a paper[1] for the twenty-eighth meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America in December 1926, I had had the opportunity of making known the attributions to the Menon Painter which are the foundation of the present study, and of suggesting that these vase-paintings, if his, changed our conception and raised our estimate of this master, who is here seen as a painter of exquisite miniatures which surpass in quality and interest the decorations of his large amphorae, and indeed earn him a place among the best artists of the early archaic period. I have retained the title borne by both the paper and the dissertation, "New Aspects of the Menon Painter," though since the appearance in the meantime of Beazley's note on the Menon Painter (*J.H.S.*, 47:92), attributing several miniatures to him, it has become less apt. If there is anything new in the method of my arguments for the attribution of these remarkable vases to the Menon Painter, it is the very thorough-going use of foils taken from outside his work, on the principle that significant resemblances are only established by significant differences. Greek vase-painting, at once so convention-ridden and so impatient of monotony, has its peculiar pitfalls for the connoisseur. Vases have been wrongly assigned to one hand on the strength of a commonplace, mistaken for a characteristic: or their identity of style has been overlooked through the painter's pursuit of variety. Further, it is often forgotten that haste can disguise a style as much as it can distort a handwriting, and that vase-painters were sometimes in a hurry. But the conscious and systematic use of foils is a safeguard. If the investigator is constantly looking away from the vases of his tentative grouping to other vases, clearly related to that group but as clearly distinct, he is less likely to be deceived by conventions, it is probable that his eye for characteristics will be sharpened and enabled to penetrate superficial variations, and altogether his apprehension of style should be surer, deeper, and more organic. And this "method of foils," transferred from study to exposition, seems to give connoisseurship a new resource, a kind of logic, which can effect something like the objective proof of

[1] A summary, in the form of a list of my attributions, was published in *A.J.A.*, 31(1927):83; the number of the Berlin plate is there misprinted.

a sound attribution. It is of course only in a work of such restricted scope as the present that this method, or indeed any full indication of the grounds of attributions, is possible; the connoisseur who undertakes a large field cannot be asked to prove everything.[2]

I acknowledge my deep obligations to Professors G. W. Elderkin and W. K. Prentice, who read my dissertation at Princeton, for their helpful criticism and encouraging interest, and to Professor O. M. Washburn of the University of California for improvements suggested by him. Professor J. D. Beazley of Oxford, to whom as teacher and friend I owe so much, has been generous in consenting to read and criticize my manuscript. My best thanks are due also to Mrs. Josephine P. Morgan of Princeton for permission to publish a vase in her collection; to Mr. Bernard Rackham, Keeper of the Department of Ceramics in the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, for photographs of the "Brachas" cup, reproduced here with the permission of the Director, Mr. E. R. D. Maclagan; to Dr. Gisela M. A. Richter, Curator of the Classical Department of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, for leave to publish the New York cup and to use a fine drawing of it by Mr. Lindsley F. Hall, as well as for all she has done to assist my study of this vase; to Dr. J. Sieveking, Director of the Museum antiker Kleinkunst at Munich, for allowing me to republish a cup and amphora in that collection and for furnishing photographs and invaluable reports; to Mr. H. B. Walters, Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum, for permission to publish vases, for help in procuring photographs, and for what this work owes to his own publications. The courtesy of the late Dr. G. B. Gordon gave me every facility for the study of the Menon amphora in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, and Miss Jane M. McHugh, Secretary of that Museum, has most kindly procured a new photograph of details of the vase and allowed me to reproduce it.

The photographs used in illustration were made by the museums to which the respective vases belong, except those of the London plates, which are the work of Messrs. R. B. Fleming & Co., 18 Bury Street, London, and that of the Morgan cup, taken by Mr. Orrin J. Turner of Princeton. Difficulties in the making of plate 2 were overcome through the generosity of the Metropolitan Museum and the competence of Miss Christine Alexander.

H. R. W. Smith

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[2] I trust I am not thought to give the least countenance to recent criticisms, decidedly captious, of the method of the surest and most active connoisseur of vase-painting.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A. J. A.	American Journal of Archaeology
Annali	Annali dell' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archaeologica
Arch. Anz.	Archäologischer Anzeiger
Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.	*Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς*
Ath. Mitt.	Athenische Mitteilungen
A. Z.	Archäologische Zeitung
Baur, *Stoddard Collection*	B., Catalogue of the Rebecca Darlington Stoddard Collection of Greek and Italian Vases in Yale University
B. C. H.	Bulletin de correspondance hellénique
Beazley, *Vases in America*	B., Attic Red-figured Vases in American Museums
Beazley, *A. V.*	B., Attische Vasenmaler des rotfiguren Stils
Benndorf	B., Griechische und sicilische Vasenbilder
B. M. Vases	Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum
B. S. A.	Annual of the British School at Athens
Burl. Cat.	Burlington Fine Arts Club, Catalogue of Objects of Greek Ceramic Art exhibited in 1888
Buschor, *G. V.*	B., Griechische Vasenmalerei
Compte rendu	Compte rendu de la Commission Impériale Archéologique de Saint-Pétersbourg
C. V.	Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum
Des Vergers, *Etrurie*	D. V., L'Etrurie et les Etrusques
El. cér.	Lenormant-De Witte, Elite des monuments céramographiques
Furtwängler, *Berl. Vas.*	F., Beschreibung der Vasensammlung im Antiquarium
F. R.	Furtwängler-Reichhold (later, Hauser-Buschor-Zahn), Griechische Vasenmalerei
Gardner, E. A., *Fitzwilliam Museum Vases*	G., Catalogue of the Greek Vases in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge
Gardner, P., *Ashmolean Vases*	G., Catalogue of the Greek Vases in the Ashmolean Museum
Gerhard, *A. V.*	G., Auserlesene griechische Vasenbilder

Gerhard, *E. C. V.* ..... G., Etruskische und campanische Vasenbilder des Königlichen Museums zu Berlin

Gerhard, *T. G.* ..... G., Trinkschalen und Gefässe des Königlichen Museums zu Berlin und anderer Sammlungen

Graef, *Akropolisvasen* ..... G., Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen

Hartwig ..... H., Die griechischen Meisterschalen der Blüthezeit des strengen rothfiguren Stiles

Hoppin, *B. F. V.* ..... H., A Handbook of Greek Black-figured Vases

Hoppin, *R. F. V.* ..... H., A Handbook of Attic Red-figured Vases

Jacobsthal, *Ornamente* ..... J., Ornamente griechischer Vasen

Jb. Arch. I. ..... Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts

Jh. Oest. Arch. I. ..... Jahreshefte des Oesterreichischen Archäologischen Instituts

Klein, *Lieblingsinschriften* ..... K., Die griechischen Vasen mit Lieblingsinschriften

Langlotz, *Gr. Vasenbilder* ..... L., Griechische Vasenbilder

Langlotz, *Zeitbestimmung* ..... L., Zur Zeitbestimmung der strengrotfiguren Vasenmalerei und der gleichzeitigen Plastik

Lau ..... Lau-Brunn-Krell, Die griechischen Vasen, ihr Formen- und Dekorationssystem

Leroux, *Vases de Madrid* ..... L., Vases grecs et italo-grecs du Musée Archéologique de Madrid

Lücken, von ..... V. L., Greek Vase-Paintings

Mem. d. Lincei ..... Atti della Reale Academia Nazionale dei Lincei; Memorie della classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche.

Mon. Ant. ..... Monumenti antichi della Reale Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei

Mon. Inst. ..... Monumenti inediti pubblicati dall' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica

Mon. Piot ..... Monuments et Mémoires publiés par l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (Fondation Piot)

M. J. ..... Museum Journal (University of Pennsylvania)

P. A. P. A. ..... Proceedings of the American Philological Association

Pellegrini, *V. F.* ..... P., Museo Civico di Bologna: Catalogo dei vasi greci dipinti delle necropoli felsinee

Pellegrini, *V. P. U.* ..... P., Museo Civico di Bologna: Catalogo dei vasi antichi dipinti delle collezioni Palagi ed Universitaria

Perrot and Chipiez ..... P. and C., Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité

Pfuhl ..... P., Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen

Pottier, *V. du Louvre* ..... P., Vases antiques du Louvre

Ridder, de ..... De R., Catalogue des vases peints de la Bibliothèque Nationale

Roulez ..... R., Choix de vases peints du Musée d'Antiquités de Leide

Schaal ..... S., Griechische Vasen aus Frankfurter Sammlungen

Welter ..... W., Aus der Karlsruher Vasensammlung

W. V. ..... Wiener Vorlegeblätter

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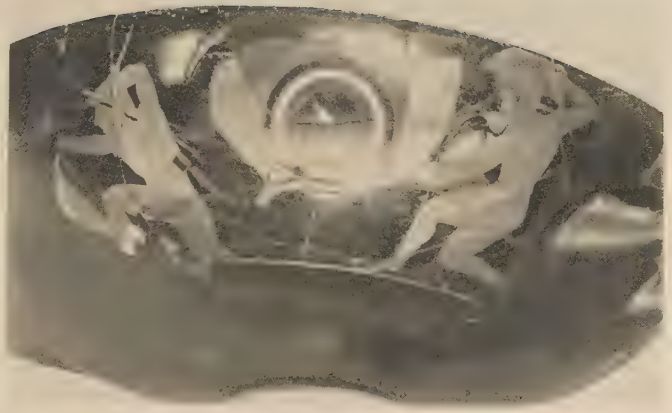

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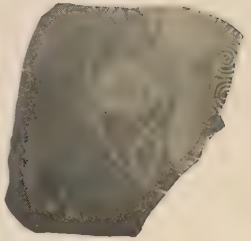

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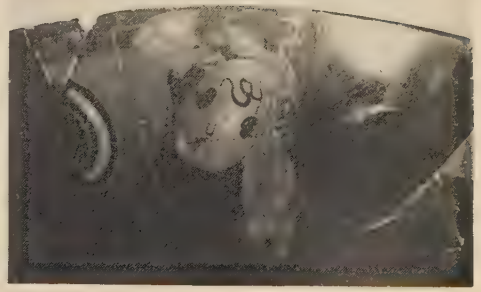

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The Munich Eye-Cup.

NEW ASPECTS OF THE MENON PAINTER

BY
H. R. W. SMITH

I

The Munich Eye-Cup

Among the vases discovered by Arndt and his assistants in clearing the storerooms of the Munich Glyptothek were some remarkable fragments of a red-figured eye-cup. These were admirably published by Hauser in *Jb. Arch. I.*, 10 (1895) :152 ff., pl. 4 (my fig. A). My plate 1 supplements his drawing by photographs of the reconstructed vase.[1] Though badly mutilated, the cup, as Hauser justly claimed, takes an important place in the history of Greek vase-painting. It is both excellent and odd; at almost every point unusual. The clay is extraordinarily thin, more delicate, strange to say, towards the bottom of the bowl than at the rim. Its plan of decoration is singular; the eyes are set unusually high, and the arrangement of colors inside the eyes is unconventional. Between each eye and the adjoining handle, instead of a palmette, there is a figure; between the eyes on each side of the cup, two figures instead of one. The bowl lacks the reserved patches (between each pair of handle-attachments) which are to be seen on almost every red-figured cup;[2] I know only one other such cup which is without them, and that is a piece which, as we shall see, is on many grounds assignable to the painter of the Munich fragments. The medallion of the interior is unusually small and is not figured, but ornamented with a floral pattern. Not only is the technique of a refinement scarcely to be matched in archaic red-figured, but it employs unusual means. White color appears (in the hetaira's wreath). Applied white may be found on a few other vases of the same period of red-figured painting; it is more remarkable that the cup shows incision, not in the expected place, the outline of the hair (which is reserved), but in the rendering of spear-heads, which even painters who are exceptionally fond of incision reserve or paint in varnish (p. 39). The bow-string, which we should not have been

[1] The interior has already been republished photographically by Jacobsthal, *Ornamente*, pl. 109 (*f*).

[2] Professor Sieveking has kindly reported that Hauser's account is here correct. It seems that the patches which appear in plate 1 are unwarranted restorations.

surprised to find incised (see C. H. Smith, *B. M. Vases,* 3:E 253), is executed in applied clay, an altogether singular trick of technique. The types are conventional, but unconventionally portrayed. The drawing is as remarkable as the technique. Not only is the stylization throughout very original, but in one figure, the archer, there is a rendering in explicit perspective, with actual foreshortening. The quasiperspective of frontal, and three-quarter views establishes itself early in vase-painting, and "suggested fore-shortening," where the recession in space is hinted but not actually drawn, is at least as old as the "Hipparchos" period of Epiktetos (Hoppin, *R.F.V.,* 1:311). But perspective drawing of parts of the body with real foreshortening is seldom attempted by archaic painters. Here it is made all the more striking by the old-fashioned vase-type, and the survivals of black-figured technique (in the use made of white and incision). Hauser was inclined to attribute the vase to Andokides, or at least, since Andokides signs with the εποιεσεν formula, to an artist who painted the extant vases from Andokides' factory. At that date, he could have made no more penetrating attribution. At the present time, it is hardly disputed that at least three painters worked for the potter Andokides. To the "Andokides Painter" who executed the red-figured decoration on most of his vases, no close student of red-figured styles would now assign this cup.[3]

Yet the painter of this cup did, I believe, work for Andokides. I recognize in him the artist who decorated the amphora in Madrid with Andokides' signature (Bieńkowski, *Jh. Oest. Arch. I.,* 3:70 ff., figs. 8–9 = Hoppin, *R.F.V.,* 1:34; Leroux, *Vases de Madrid,* pls. 5, 6), a master who, as Buschor was perhaps the first to point out (*G.V.*[2], 152), must be altogether distinguished from the Andokides Painter and identified with the decorator of the amphora in Philadelphia signed by Menon (*M.J.,* 5:31 ff., figs. 17–20 = Hoppin, *R.F.V.,* 2:203). To this artist, whom Buschor named the Menon Painter, Beazley assigned the panel-amphora in mixed technique at Munich (2302) inscribed ιπποκρατες καλος (*Vases in America,* 6, *A.V.,* 9, no. 2).[4] Langlotz added a black-figured panel-amphora in Brescia (*Zeitbestimmung,* 20), and the attribution is accepted by Zahn (F.R., 3:236) and Beazley (*A.V.,* 9, no. 1). Zahn's attribution of the Berlin black-

[3] The bizarre ungainliness of the Andokides Painter is as far removed as possible from the elegance of the Munich cup. The relation of the Andokides Painter to our artist will be very precisely defined in the course of this paper. They are associates, with much superficially in common, but very different in temperament and habit of hand.

[4] Reproductions: Richter, *Ancient Furniture,* fig. 166; my plate 5, figs. G, H (the restorations on the r.f. side indicated): details, F.R., 1:151, Lau, pl. 12, 2.

Fig. A. The Munich Eye-Cup.

figured hydria 1897 and the Castle Ashby amphora of the potter Andokides to Phintias must be mentioned here, since this scholar identifies the Menon Painter with Phintias.[5] It is unfortunate that my essay cannot take proper account of Beazley's new and much enlarged list of the Menon Painter's works (*J.H.S.*, 47:92), which appeared after this study had been completed and its attributions published (*A.J.A.*, 1927:83). A close connection between the Munich eye-cup and the work of the Menon Painter was observed by Pfuhl (*Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, sec. 441, p. 412; sec. 443, p. 414; sec. 445, p. 415). He came very near to asserting the absolute identity of the painter of the Munich cup with the Menon Painter, which would have been plain to him had he been able to inspect the Philadelphia amphora. However, while admitting that the greater liveliness and originality of the Munich cup as compared with the amphora might be a matter of scale and subject, he saw much of the Andokides Painter in its style, and allowed that the cup with two other vases[6] might be the work of a third artist closely related to both painters.

[5] F.R., 3:230 ff., the hydria being figured in F.R., pl. 154(2), the amphora in *Burl. Cat.*, 1888, pl. 18, no. 108 = Hoppin, *B.F.V.*, 51 (Beazley noted the latter as close to the style of the Menon Painter, *A.V.*, 10, and now gives both vases to him, *J.H.S.*, 47:92). I follow Zahn in seeing an extremely close resemblance between the work of Phintias and the vases of the Menon Painter, but cannot agree that they are one and the same artist; see below, p. 44. Other vases which Zahn seems to assign to Phintias = Menon Painter are Graef, *Akropolisvasen*, pl. 82, no. 1555 *a-b*, and pl. 110, no. 2591 (Benndorf, pl. 3); see F.R., 3:235, note 37, 236, note 44. Against the attribution of the latter to the Menon Painter, see below, p. 36. I feel obliged to suspend judgment about no. 1555, the fragments being so small, as also about Langlotz' attribution of the Brachas cup (*Zeitbestimmung*, 31, note 8; 116), the style of which I cannot adequately study in the reproductions available to me. As far as I can decide without seeing the cup, Langlotz is right (see Appendix). The Dorotheos plate, likewise given to the Menon Painter by Langlotz, is assigned by Beazley (rightly) to the Cerberus Painter (*A.V.*, 29, no. 1); on the relation of the latter to the Menon Painter, see below, p. 34, note 2. However, Langlotz may be right in attributing the "Sokles" plate (see below, p. 54).

[6] Namely, an aryballos formerly in Bologna (No. 2 in the list of my attributions to the Menon Painter) and a cup in Madrid (Leroux, *Vases de Madrid*, pl. 15, Pfuhl, fig. 319, Klein, *Lieblingsinschriften*,[2] figs. 18 and 19). *J.H.S.*, 47:92, note 63, seems to imply that Pfuhl assigned the Bologna aryballos to the Menon Painter outright. I think I was the first to attribute the Munich cup and the Bologna aryballos to the Menon Painter with confidence, *A.J.A.*, 1927:83. But in any case, with regard to these I go only one step beyond a position which Pfuhl had already reached. As to the Madrid cup, I cannot agree with Pfuhl (and Hauser, *op. cit.*, 155) that it is by the same hand as the Munich eye-cup. It is more likely by Oltos, as Langlotz and Beazley suggest (*A.V.*, 13, 30). The floral ornament inside the Madrid cup may seem at first sight to connect it with the Munich piece, but there is no resemblance which is significant between the floral interiors of these two cups (see below, p. 8). Credit must be given to Bieńkowski (*Jh. Oest. Arch. I.*, 3:71) for seeing how close the Munich eye-cup was to the Madrid amphora of the Menon Painter decorated for, and signed by, Andokides. But he did not separate its red-figured side from the work of the Andokides Painter. He was also wrong in assigning the two sides of the Madrid amphora to different hands, though his premise (that the black-figured side could not be by the Andokides Painter) was perfectly correct.

I venture to recognize the hand of the Menon Painter not only on the Munich eye-cup, but on six other vases also unmentioned in Beazley's lists in *Attische Vasenmaler,* pp. 9, 10.[7] These are: a round aryballos, red-figured, formerly in the Museo Civico of Bologna but stolen and still untraced; a red-figured kylix in New York (14.146.1) which, as I learned after making the attribution, was connected by Langlotz with this aryballos;[8] and four black-figured plates, Berlin 2099 and British Museum B 589, B 590, B 591.

The vases of this list show us sides of the Menon Painter of which the amphorae gave us little hint. In point indeed of technique the amphorae are very interesting; they allow us to compare black-figured and red-figured work from the same hand,[9] and apart from its relation to the painter's red-figured work, their black-figured style is remarkable in the contrast of its meticulous daintiness with the free style of most late black-figured ware. But the rather dull prettiness of the amphorae would not entitle their painter to the highest consideration. However, the other vases prove that the Menon Painter was an important master of the early archaic period, as interesting, in his own way, as Oltos, Epiktetos, and Skythes; his talent, if not the most effective, is one of the most noteworthy of that time. The craftsmanship of his best red-figured ware is unequaled, in elaborate perfection, by any vase-painter of his generation, and its excellence is all the more interesting because this accomplished master of delicate relief-line was probably bred to the older technique, survivals of which are nowhere more abundant and remarkable than in his red-figured work. In decorative design, he is elegant, unconventional, and ingenious, if certainly not so happy as Epiktetos or Skythes at their best. His drawing is delicate and pretty, indeed to excess; it is at the same time very individual, even adventurous. In fact not the least of his claims to notice is his refreshing independence in everything that he does, all the more to be relished because combined with so many survivals.

I have found it convenient to make the Munich eye-cup, rather than the amphora with Menon's signature, my point of departure, and to begin by grouping the vases of my list round that cup, giving

[7] This was of course written before the appearance of Beazley's note on the Menon Painter in *J.H.S.*, 47:92, adding many more vases to his list of the artist's works.

[8] When he visited the Metropolitan Museum, so Miss Richter informs me.

[9] An opportunity which is rarer than might be thought; it is not safe to regard as the work of the Andokides Painter the black-figured decoration on most of the vases in mixed technique which have red-figured painting by him (Langlotz, *Zeitbestimmung,* 25, Beazley, *A.V.*, 7).

the evidence which makes me assign all seven pieces to one hand before I try to prove that their artist and the Menon Painter are the same. In dealing with each vase, I shall avoid description at length, except in the case of the New York cup, which has not been fully published. That piece I shall make the focus of my treatment of the painter's characteristics as seen in these seven vases. My method, not only in arguing for each attribution but in characterizing incidentally any notable feature, will involve many citations of other painters' vases, which by differences of treatment serve to bring out the significance of similarities between the vases of my list, or the intrinsic interest of a rendering not noteworthy as a characteristic. These citations may sometimes seem gratuitous; but here negative evidence and illustration are all-important. What is cogent in an argument for the attribution of a work of art is not that this or that feature of the piece occurs in the master's work, but that it does not occur outside his work, that no one else does the corresponding thing in quite that way. Even in mere description, a contrast with what is related but different may be the best commentary. The value, in the study of Greek vase-painting, of what is called connoisseurship perhaps still needs defense, though its possibility can no longer be questioned. Its justification is certainly the truth that we do not fully know any of an artist's works until we know all. Beazley's great service in the field in which he leads is not that he has enabled curators to print a great many new labels, but that he has given us so much more to see and enjoy on the vases which he has placed in a context.

I shall now deal individually with the vases which, in my preliminary grouping, I give to the decorator of the Munich eye-cup, afterwards to be identified with the Menon Painter. In dismissing the eye-cup it seems convenient to use a formula like that with which I shall introduce each of the rest, but including dimensions, as the vase has never been published in a catalogue.

No. 1. Munich, Museum Antiker Kleinkunst (2587). Eye-cup, red-figured. Diameter, 27.50 cm: height uncertain. Published by Hauser, *Jb. Arch. I.*, 10(1895):152 ff., pl. 4 (my fig. A); Jacobsthal, *Ornamente,* pl. 109(*f*) (interior); my pl. 1.[10]

[10] Which shows that since Hauser drew the cup some portions have disappeared —the upper part of the peltast's boot, the left foot of the erect warrior facing him, and the left foot of the archer. On the other hand new fragments have come to light—the calf of one boot of the peltast, and more of the hetaira.

II

The Bologna Aryballos

No. 2. Bologna, Museo Civico (322), until stolen. Round aryballos, red-figured. Published by Pellegrini, *Catalogo dei vasi antichi dipinti delle collezioni Palagi ed Universitaria*, pp. 56, 57; figs. 46–48.

Pellegrini assigned it, without argument, to the painter of the Munich eye-cup, which he considered a later work.[1] He agreed with Hauser that the artist of the Munich eye-cup was probably Andokides. Pellegrini was certainly correct in attributing the aryballos to the painter of the cup. That it is earlier in style than the cup is equally sure: in the use of incision round and in the hair, the more striking use of color, the "kleinmeister" deer as shield sign, Corinthian helmets in the "down" position, and the draping of chitons, it is nearer the black-figured technique (see p. 50). Of "Andokides," there is of course no question.

The whole case for the attribution of this piece to the painter of No. 1 will not be apparent till we have considered No. 3, the New York cup, which strikingly links the other two. Meanwhile I will indicate only some of the features that connect the aryballos and the Munich cup. Not only does the aryballos match the cup in the exceptional refinement of its miniaturistic execution, but it repeats the oddest feature of its technique—incision for parts of *weapons*. A sword blade is incised (Pellegrini, *V.P.U.*, fig. 47, extreme left). Yet of the four figures whose front hair is not hidden by helmets two have the outline reserved; it recalls the Munich eye-cup that the aryballos, while showing incision in an unusual place, lacks it (in the case of these two figures) where we should expect this treatment. Moreover the leg-musculature of the figure of Herakles on the aryballos (the only figure there in which musculature has been indicated) presents two details which seem constant and characteristic in the varied ren-

[1] Wolters was perhaps the first to notice that the aryballos was by the painter of the eye-cup (Graef, *Akropolisvasen*, 191 no. 1889). Zahn (*F.R.*, 3:234, note 31) gave both the Bologna aryballos and the Munich eye-cup to Pfuhl's "Io Master" (Beazley's "Cerberus Painter"). His attribution will be discussed later (p. 34, note 2); it points in the right direction, but not to the right man. Pottier (*Mon. Piot*, 13[1906]:163), with the Brussels kantharos in mind, thought it possible that the aryballos was made in the workshop of Douris; Gabrici followed him (*Mon. Ant.*, 22:515). But the painter of the aryballos was a pioneer of the red-figured style and cannot have worked for Douris, whose kantharos belongs to the ripe archaic period.

derings of the Munich cup (*a*) the gastrocnemius line (even on the outside) is decidedly concave to the rear; (*b*) there are diverging lines on the thigh just above the knee. The first is not narrowly characteristic of our painter, though Epiktetos and those close to him are inclined to avoid a curved rendering on the outside of the calf. But the downward Y, in the form in which it occurs on these two vases, seems to be a peculiarity of his style. Compare (rather than any of the innumerable examples which show no detail like it) the vases figured in Hartwig, pl. 2, 1 and 3 (Hoppin, *R.F.V.*, 1:149, 151); *Wiener Vorlegeblätter,* D, pl. 7 (Hoppin, *op. cit.,* 1:156); *J.H.S.*, 35: pl. 6; *F.R.,* pl. 81, where there is some sort of Y on the corresponding part of the leg. I feel that in this point the aryballos and the cup are nearer to one another than to any of the examples cited. A further reason is that the aryballos has under it a floral pattern that recalls the ornament of the interior of the Munich cup. Cup-medallions with floral motives for their sole ornament are rare in archaic red-figured painting; but at least two besides that of the Munich cup have been published. Set Pellegrini's reproduction (p. 57, fig. 48) beside the interior pattern of the eye-cup and compare with them Klein, *Lieblingsinschriften,*[2] p. 81, fig. 18, and *Arch. Anz.,* 1916:174, fig. 7. Mark that the latter bear not the least resemblance to the patterns of the Munich and Bologna vases or to one another; while our vases show variations of the same motive.[2]

[2] To the foils cited I can now add Jacobsthal, *Ornamente,* pl. 109(*e*); it further enforces the resemblance between the Munich eye-cup and the Bologna aryballos. I do not think that the argument from the floral ornament of the aryballos and eye-cup is weakened by the occurrence of the same motive on a black-figured cup which there is no reason to assign to the painter of these vases (Graef, *Akropolisvasen,* 191, no. 1889, pl. 89). It is characteristic of our artist to preserve in his red-figured work tricks of black-figured painting which even the most conservative pioneers of the new style discard (p. 39 f.). For patterns related to our motive, but more distantly, see Jacobsthal, *Ornamente,* 71, note 108.

The New York Cup (Exterior A).

III

The New York Cup

No. 3. New York, Metropolitan Museum (14.146.1). Kylix, red-figured. Provisionally published by Miss Richter in *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum*, 10:99 f., fig. 2 (one side); her notice contains, besides a summary description, an excellent short appreciation of the vase's beauty and importance. My plates 2 and 3, figs. B, C, D.

It will be necessary to give a complete account of this cup, which is the central piece of our group. The features which indicate the hand of the artist of the Munich eye-cup will be noticed under their appropriate headings in the course of my description, in each section of which the three red-figured vases of this list are connected and compared.

Fig. B. The New York Cup (Shape).

Shape and Plan of Decoration. The cup is 10.50 cm. high; the diameter of the bowl is 28.20 cm. The shape is unconventional. In the squat and hollow stem (which is varnished within as well as without), flat unvarnished underside of the foot, and form of the handles, it resembles that of an eye-cup.[1] However, the stem lacks the plastic ring generally found on eye-cups, and the circumference of the base-plate is not chamfered in profile, but has a convex moulding between two channels (cf. Lau, pl. 18, 5). Stem and base meet in a fashion that recalls neither eye-cup nor canonic shape. The stem of an eye-cup runs into the base without any line of division; the flaring stem of the canonic shape is as a rule marked off from the

[1] Caskey, *Geometry of Greek Vases*, 177; Lau, pl. 18, 2; F. R., 1:172.

base-plate by a tooled gradation.[2] On our cup, stem and base are sharply divided, but the break is nearer the axis of the stem than in the canonic shape.

Hauser notes (*op. cit.*, 152) that the Munich cup does not show the reserved patches (one between the attachments of each handle) usual on red-figured cups.[3] These the New York cup also lacks. It is remarkable that the one ancient handle of the New York cup is unvarnished, and it seems certain that the present appearance of this handle is not due to the varnish having rubbed off, or burnt red. I do not know of any red-figured cup which has not the outside of the handles varnished. It is to be noted that there is no varnish on the handles of the aryballos.[4] I think that there is a connection between the absence of varnish on the handles of the New York cup and the omission of the reserved patches on the outside of the bowl. We know that cups when not in use might be suspended on a wall, and I believe that the purpose of these patches was to make the handle-roots seem more slender and graceful when the cup was hung up, the reserved part of each handle merging in the reserved patch under it. The handles would appear to be reduced to their varnished portions.[5] But there is no varnish on the handles of the New York cup to stand out against a reserved background; there are accordingly no patches on the bowl. We can conjecture that the lost handles of the Munich cup were unvarnished, since that vase also has no patches.

Below the figure-fields is a rich festoon, lotus flowers arcading palmettes (pls. 2 and 3). The lotus sepals and the volutes continuous with them are in relief line; the rest is brush work in thick varnish. Base-borders of floral ornament become common on the more ambitious cups of early archaic red-figured when accessory ornament

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[2] Caskey, *op. cit.*, 177, 185.

[3] The Andokides cup of mixed technique, on which dark and light grounds meet at the handles, naturally does not have these patches. Their form and size vary somewhat; a small patch, not reaching to the brim, is characteristic of the cups from Python's factory (F.R., pl. 53, 73; 1:267; Pottier, *V. du Louvre*, 3:pl. 110), though not peculiar to them.

[4] The original handles of the Munich eye-cup are lacking. It is very unusual for the handles of any red-figured vase to be wholly unvarnished. For varnished handles on aryballoi, see *Mon. Piot*, 13:150; Pfuhl, pl. 352, no. 777; the similar handles of certain plastic vases are varnished (*Mon. Piot*, 9: pls. 11, 12; Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1894, pl. 6).

[5] Of course, such patches are found on other shapes which likewise have varnished handles attached horizontally and inclined, but less generally, because there the handles (seen usually in profile) did not so much need a background.

begins to leave the main field;[6] they are popular from the Hipparchos period of Epiktetos until the early work of Douris; after that they give way to geometrical patterns. In the choice of floral motive is to be observed the thoughtful independence so characteristic of this painter. It is not taken from the repertory of cup-painting.[7] Its rich crispness repeats, while the bold tonal quality of its silhouette balances, the filigree effect of the main design. In the execution of this ornament we can detect two hands. Four of the lotus flowers (to the left of the falling warrior, pl. 2) have no "pistil" projecting centrally above, and below they terminate in a long "drop." The others have a pistil, and a drop of a different shape or none at all, and they seem painted with less care.[8] We shall find that the artist who painted the figured decoration of this cup is very fond of introducing long piriform drops into his accessory ornament, and it is interesting that where the work of the second hand begins (from below the falling figure and extending toward the right), this form of drop tends to disappear. That a subordinate hand finished off the decoration of the cup is certain; for there is a place (under the female figure of the reverse, pl. 3) where the painter has traced his protective border but the ground beyond it has not been varnished in. In the leaving of routine work to a second hand we have an indication that the painter, when he decorated this cup, was his own master; a point which we shall find later of some importance.

It remains to add that the color of the clay is exceptionally rich and the varnish very thick and unctuous.

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[6] Examples: Von Lücken, *Greek Vase Paintings*, pls. 8 and 9 (*W.V.*, D, pl. 2 = Hoppin, *R.F.V.*, 2:249, signed by Oltos); Hoppin, *op. cit.*, 1:329 (signed by Epiktetos); 2:283 (Pamphaios and the Nikosthenes Painter); 2:291 (Pamphaios —the Sleep and Death cup).

[7] It is in fact an amphora ornament. If I am right in my identification of this artist with the Menon Painter and in the chronology which I shall suggest for the Menon Painter's works (p. 52), the base-border of this cup is reminiscent of the decorator's earlier practice as a painter of amphorae. Related motives occur under panels of the Menon Painter's Philadelphia and Munich amphorae and as side-borders on amphorae of the Andokides Painter, his colleague (Hoppin, *R.F.V.*, 1:33 and 41). Note that the eccentricity of the New York border as a cup-ornament consists not only in the scheme of the pattern but in the use of silhouette. In the base-borders of amphorae and large vases, silhouette is regular; but on cups reserved motives are much more common; in fact the Nikosthenes Painter (a hack associated with a factory which did not specialize in cups) is almost the only cup-painter besides our artist who prefers silhouette (see, e.g., *J.H.S.*, 43; pls. 3 and 4; Hoppin, *R.F.V.*, 2:115, 117, 289; *B.F.V.*, 471). The New York border is thus an example of something which we shall find to be very characteristic of our painter—the adaptation of familiar things to unfamiliar contexts. He is very abnormal, without being really original; the derivation of his anomalies is generally quite obvious.

[8] The simplest explanation of the change—that one and the same decorator, bored with the trouble of making careful lotuses, finished off the festoon with less pains—will not seem at all plausible on closer acquaintance with the style of our painter: for meticulousness and inexhaustible patience are its very essence.

The Scenes. *Exterior A.*—On this, the better preserved side, there is a battle (pl. 2). In the center a young warrior is being felled by a bearded spearsman. On the left of them is a warrior with spear poised, and behind this third figure a mantle-clad trumpeter, carrying a spear; on the right of the central group, a warrior is about to give the *coup de grace* with his sword to a fallen spearsman. *Exterior B.*—

Fig. C. The New York Cup (Exterior). Drawn by Lindsley F. Hall.

This is very fragmentary (pl. 3). On the right, a good deal is preserved of the figure of a woman in a chiton and short mantle, carrying a helmet. Next to her are traces of the figure of a warrior mounting his chariot (left leg, part of the right leg, which is already planted in the chariot, shield). The next figure of which anything is preserved wears a long chiton. The hang and texture of this garment, and the position of the figure, make it certain that here is the charioteer, holding the heads of the horses or adjusting the harness. For the costume, compare the charioteer of F. R., pl. 154; for the position, Pfuhl, fig. 279. On the extreme left is a folding stool, with a red covering; the ends of a chlamys hang down from it. To the

The New York Cup (Exterior B).

right of this is part of a right leg, heel slightly off the ground. This is all that is left of a warrior putting a greave on his left leg, the foot of which rested on the stool. The chlamys is no doubt his, the part of his equipment which he will assume last. On the other leg is seen a circular pad (in red), such as was put on before the greave to pre-

Fig. D. The New York Cup (Interior).

vent its edge from chafing the foot.[9] The subject is thus a scene of warriors leaving home for battle, a prelude in fact to the scene on the other side. It reverses the order of the Munich cup, where there is on one side fighting, on the other, if Hauser was right, figures disarming and merrymaking.[10] In the warrior putting on his greave is

[9] This pad does not appear in our drawing, fig. C, but it is clear on the cup and in the photograph. For a very plain rendering of this pad, see the Perugia cup signed by Euphronios (Hartwig, pl. 58) and compare von Lücken, pl. 40. The red lines under greaves on the Munich cup are thus to be explained as the edges of such pads.

[10] "Beschäftigen sich mit ihrer Rüstung, vielmehr wohl mit Abrüsten" (Hauser, *op. cit.*, 154). Hauser explains the figure on the left as a warrior laying down his shield. This is doubtful, and, as Beazley points out to me, it is not certain that the youth opposite, with unlaced curiass, is disarming. Scenes of men disarming are extremely uncommon, and it would be rather like our painter's eccentricity to represent one. But if the figures are arming, the subject is hardly less interesting (a sort of "Duchess of Richmond's Ball") and there is a connection in any case with the New York cup.

an example of one of this painter's characteristics—his reminiscent novelty. I have no doubt that the stool in this position (in front of the horses) was suggested to the vase-painter by the figure *seated* on a stool and facing the horses, which recurs so often in the "departures" or "arrivals" of black-figured. See for examples Pfuhl, fig. 243, Pottier, *V. du Louvre,* pl. 77, 198, Gerhard, *A.V.,* pls. 255, 263, Roulez, pl. 19, *Corpus Vasorum,* France, fasc. 4, Louvre III H.e., pl. 21, 1, and a black-figured vase by the Menon Painter himself, Gerhard, *E.C.V.,* pl. D. Out of this commonplace our artist makes a new motive. For apart from Louvre G 47 (Pottier, *V. du Louvre,* pl. 93), I do not know an example in which a figure rests the *foot* of the leg on which the greave is being put,[11] and our cup must be earlier than Louvre G 47, a ripe archaic work and assigned by Beazley to the Eucharides Painter (*A.V.,* 94, no. 9). *Interior.*—In a medallion proportionately rather smaller than usual, and bounded by a reserved band, is an archer in Scythian dress,[12] leading a restive horse (fig. D).

[11] On the Perugia cup of Euphronios a chair seems to be used but to steady the other leg. There is usually no support; the helmet often seen on the ground in the "greaving" motive gives none.

[12] It is not safe to take such figures for Amazons. Compare the male archer on the Munich cup with similar headdress, the archers of the "Review" cup in the British Museum (*Mon. Inst.,* 9: pl. 10), and of innumerable vases of late black-figured and early red-figured. In spite of the striking resemblance to the Amazons of the aryballos, the effeminacy of this figure's facial type may be a matter of style; compare two figures of the battle scene on this vase and the youth with the Boeotian shield on the Munich cup. It is clear that the wearers of the Scythian dress are not necessarily barbarians. Of the three such figures in the Calydonian boar-hunt on the François vase, one has a distinctly outlandish name (Kimerios); but on such a vase as Louvre G 6 (Hoppin, *R.F.V.,* 1:329) where figures so dressed appear on both sides of a fight as comrades of others in Greek armor, they cannot be barbarians, or even Trojans. Archers in this dress appear with hoplites on the Aeginetan pediments and on Ionic pottery (*B.C.H.,* 17[1893]:428), so that no circumstances peculiar to Athens, such as the employment of northern mercenaries by Peisistratos after his final restoration, can afford an explanation. It is abundantly clear from the vases that *cavalry* at Athens in the late sixth century adopted *Thracian* dress, with striped blanket cloak, high boots of rawhide, and even ἀλωπεκίς (Herodotus vii. 75; Hoppin, *R.F.V.,* 1:401, 2:203; Pfuhl, fig. 499; Gerhard, *E.C.V.,* pl. D). This is an analogy for the adoption of *Scythian* dress by Greek archers at Athens and elsewhere. Young archers in Scythian dress on Attic pottery are so sympathetically treated and so frequently appear as pendants to types that are certainly Athenian (e.g., Hoppin, *R.F.V.,* 2:403, and compare 1:314 with 315), that all points to the use of the dress by citizens, who may have served as archers in the sixth century, as they certainly did in the fifth (Thuc. ii. 13.8, Aristotle Ἀθ. πολ. 24.3, I.G. i.² 79, 99, 929, 949. The "Scyths" or slave-archers of the police force were of course distinct). Herakles himself wears the costume on two cups by the Brygos Painter (F.R., pl. 47 = Pfuhl, fig. 424; F.R., pl. 160) where it is not a touch of burlesque, as the second cup proves. Beazley has pointed out to me another Herakles in this dress, Schaal, pl. 21, a. [His interesting remarks on the Oriental costume of the archer of the Miltiades Plate (*C.V.,* Gt. Britain, fasc. 3, p. 2, no. 5) appeared after I had written the note. I regret that I have not been able to see Farmakovskiy's publication of the stele from Olbia with the Greek Leiodotis in barbarian costume, but that seems a special and a simpler case, like the Miltiades plate itself if its inscription refers to the figure.]

The right hand holds the long lead close by the horse's muzzle, the left hand its looped end and a bow.[13] Certain details of the figure's dress and equipment, which will receive close attention later, I need not describe here.

Technique. Applied red is used, for the chair-covering and greave-pad in the departure scene, for the edge of the crest of the helmet in that scene and of the Attic helmet of the swordsman in the combat; in the latter also for the vertical strap of the trumpeter's phorbeia, the string running round the inside of a shield, all baldrics, the wound of the falling warrior, his adversary's shield device; and for the lead of the horse on the interior of the cup. White was used for the tail and mane of the horse (now faded, but the traces are certain), to edge the finial of the falling figure's scabbard, and for the whole finial of the scabbard of the figure behind him; all spear-shafts are in white. This extraordinarily profuse employment of color connects the piece with the eye-cup and the aryballos. White is used on the eye-cup (the hetaira's wreath), and on the same piece applied red is somewhat more lavish than is normal (not only for a fillet, baldrics, the tongue of the quiver, greave-pads, and one ring of the decorative eyes, but also for the upper edge of greaves and in the floral ornament). On the aryballos red occurs on the side of the brim and for baldrics, the decoration of a scabbard, and (surprisingly) for spear-shafts. However the abundant use of color on all these vases does not by itself prove that they were the work of one hand. It does no more than point in the direction of a group of early archaic red-figured painters who carry over from their black-figured training a fondness for color. The Andokides Painter is sometimes very lavish with red (Perrot and Chipiez, 10: pl. 7; Gerhard, *T.G.*, pl. 19); in Psiax we can match the shield device of red balls (*A.J.A.*, 1895, 488, fig. 79), red for crest-edge and greave-stops (*Arch. Anz.*, 1894, 180) and in floral ornament (*A.J.A.*, 1895, pl. 22). However, white for spear-shafts or for manes is not to be found in red-figured painting of this date except here and on the Philadelphia amphora

[13] The figure is leading the horse ἐκ πλαγίου, Xenophon, *De Re Equestri* 6. 6, by the single ῥυτήρ or ἀγωγεύς. Reins are not shown. It is not mounting or dismounting. Somewhat similar representations have been explained as horsemen ὑποβιβάζοντες. But (*a*) to make one's horse ὑποβιβάζεσθαι, as seems clear from Xenophon (*De Re Equestri* 6. 16) is the "soft" way of mounting: should we expect to find it portrayed? (*b*) No supposed example seems to correspond very closely to Pollux' description of the operation (i. 213). The absence of reins in any case seems to make such an interpretation impossible here.

of the Menon Painter.[14] But besides lavish color, the New York cup shows the use of incision for parts of weapons, which is not to be found in red-figured except on Nos. 1 and 2 of our list and the Philadelphia amphora. On the New York cup, wherever the spearheads have a background of varnish, they are incised. It is this altogether exceptional trick of technique that makes the resemblances already noticed or to be pointed out so significant. It is true that in one notable point of technique the New York cup differs from the Munich eye-cup. While all figures on the Munich cup have the contours in relief line,[15] not all contours on the New York cup are so given. But this only proves that the Munich cup is later than the New York piece —as is in many other ways evident (p. 50). The Andokides Painter similarly *develops* the use of relief line for contours in his later work (see Hartwig, *Jb. Arch. I.*, 14:158, note 12). The following contours on the New York cup appear to lack relief line except where they cross reserved clay; the upper outline of the right leg of the fallen warrior, the back of the rear leg of the trumpeter, the "bell" of his trumpet, the vertical part of the nape-pieces of all helmets, the crest of the pointed cap, the hooves of the horse, the left foot of the figure of the interior and what remains of its right foot, the second finger of its right hand. The relief line in which most of the interior detail is executed is of altogether exceptional minuteness and reminds one of Hauser's description of the relief line of the Munich cup, the delicacy of which even his draftsmanship was baffled to reproduce (*op. cit.*, 154—"einen unendlich feinen Strich der fühlbar plastisch hervortritt"). In anatomical detail it is, as Hauser described corresponding lines on the Munich cup, like a fine hair. However, relief line is avoided at sudden curves, which many early archaic painters seem unable to execute with the relief-line tool. Thus the following details appear to be in brush work: lips, ears, long locks of hair, hands, all details in feet, genitals, the edges of chitons (sleeves and skirts), cross-stripe on the woman's chiton, some strokes of the knots of cloaks, spots on dresses, spiral-and-dot pattern on quiver, volutes on helmets, sword-hilts, shield-grips, vertical lines of the attachments of shield-staples, palmettes at the ends of shield-braces, and perhaps the forward tip of the bow; the following are in varnish very thickly applied

[14] The *red* spears of the aryballos can be paralleled in Oltos (Gerhard, *T.G.*, pl. 13, 1; *W.V.*, 7: pl. 4, 3; also apparently on a cup signed by Hischylos, F.R., 3:240, 241; even in Euphronios, F.R., 2:4, pl. 61).

[15] Dr. Sieveking has been so good as to confirm Hauser's description of the contouring. How contours were treated on the lost aryballos cannot be ascertained.

with the brush: spear-points (where not incised), "tongue" and volute-tips of the ornament of cuirasses, volute-tips on helmets, shield-brace of falling figure. On the Munich cup there is a similar avoidance of relief line at awkward curves of the interior drawing; this cannot be claimed as a characteristic, except of the whole "Andocidean" group as opposed to Epiktetos and those near him (p. 57).[16] There is scarcely any trace of sketching. In the interior there is a little along the lower outline of the right upper arm and near the point of the elbow. The Munich cup has scarcely any sketch lines except in the interior. This may be significant, though I would not press the point. We shall see later that a *close* circular frame was embarrassing to this painter, and it is in such a frame if anywhere that we expect to find him taking advantage of a sketch.

Drawing. The drawing of the New York cup will be found to agree with that of Nos. 1 and 2 in its conventions, which it will be instructive to study. Though a style cannot be defined by enumerating tricks of drawing, we shall find in these conventions clues that will lead us to a deeper analysis.

Feet.—On the New York cup the arch is generally emphasized, being shown as a more or less abrupt (sometimes "flirted") curve or nick in front of the heels; the rendering can be best observed in the departure scene and on the left of the other side. A tendency to treat the feet in this fashion seems in fact characteristic for Nos. 1, 2, and 3. Contrast with them, for this detail, the following vases, which are relevant as avoiding relief line for the soles of the feet, besides belonging generally to the "Andocidean" group;[17] F.R., pl. 4, 91, 111, 112, 113; *J.H.S.*, 12: pl. 20, 21; Welter, *Aus der Karlsruher Vasensammlung,* pl. 8; *A.J.A.*, 1895:487. The careful drawing of the toes wherever they are indicated I would not claim as characteristic; the rendering is different from the schematic relief-line toes

[16] If the problem of the relief-line tool is ever solved, it will be by attention to the difficulty which its earliest users found in drawing curves with it and to the scratch it often makes in the clay. As Miss Richter writes (*Craft of Athenian Pottery,* 53) the grooving of the relief line is no clue.

[17] If I may be allowed to give this label to the Andokides and Menon Painters and the artists most obviously related to them: Psiax, Oltos, the Cerberus Painter, the Hermaios Painter, Phintias, Euthymides, Hypsis, Peithinos. The Ambrosios and Epidromos Painters are on the fringe of the group. Its characteristics are conservatism in technique and a preference for rich or dainty, over broad effects (though Euthymides may be said to *combine* daintiness and breadth). The "Andocidean" style is something definite enough to be imitated. Epiktetos affects it in Louvre G 6 (Hoppin, *R.F.V.*, 1:329). His natural style may stand for the antithesis of the Andocidean. The phrase "Epiktetan Cycle," grotesque in its mistranslation of *Kreis,* is never more irritating than when applied to Oltos or his congeners. The real Epiktetans are the Euergides and Nikosthenes Painters.

of the figures of Epiktetos and the Nikosthenes Painter (Pfuhl, figs. 320–329), but many of the vases of the previous citation show toes as carefully drawn, and I cannot point out anything on our painter's rendering on these three pieces that is distinctive. He has however a trick of making his figures raise their heels from the ground on the slightest provocation. Compare the youth "greaving" on the New York cup with the similar figure of Pottier, *V. du Louvre,* pl. 93, G 47; its charioteer with that of Pfuhl, fig. 279; the left foot of the crouching spearsman of the Munich cup (quite unnaturally raised) with that of the archer of Hoppin, *R.F.V.,* 2:283 and of the crouching figure of Gerhard, *A.V.,* pl. 121, 1 (not raised); the raised foot in such poses as those of the crouching figure of De Ridder, 2:349, fig. 80, or E. A. Gardner, *Fitzwilliam Museum Vases,* pl. 13, 51A, seem more natural. In the case of the Bologna aryballos, not one foot is planted wholly on the ground.

Hands.—The beautifully drawn hands of the figures of the New York cup are easily seen to be more than akin to those of figures on Nos. 1 and 2. The drawing of the hands is quite characteristic for the three vases. What distinguishes them from the hands drawn by the artists most close to our painter is not so much the trick of curving up the tip of the extended thumb as their dainty compactness. The Andokides Painter, Psiax, and Oltos tend to make the fingers too long and often too supple and seldom give even the clasped hand such satisfactory proportions. For contrast I would cite: left hand of Dionysos, Pellegrini, *V.F.,* 46, left hand of Ajax, von Lücken, pl. 9, and of the warrior with shield, Pfuhl, fig. 344 (especially for comparison with the left hands of the two warriors with unforeshortened shields on the New York cup, right hand of Amazon with Boeotian shield, aryballos, hand of peltast, Munich cup). Also the left hand of the bearded figure, Hoppin, *Euthymides and His Fellows,* pl. 16, the right hand of Memnon, F.R., pl. 156 (for comparison with the right hand of the falling figure, New York cup); and the following open hands in side view (for comparison with such hands on our two cups): right hand of Apollo, Beazley, *Vases in America,* 45; left hand of woman, F.R., pl. 52. For comparison with the very interesting right hand of the Munich archer note several hands in *Mon. Inst.,* 10: pls. 23, 24, and the hands of the archer in Pfuhl, fig. 344. The two vases last cited serve to bring out the restraint with which fingers are rendered on the Munich cup, which at first sight seems to show a more fanciful treatment than the New York cup.

Head types.—The heads on the New York cup are rather large in proportion; their similarity in type to those on Nos. 1 and 2 is obvious. Compare especially the archer of the New York cup with the Munich archer, or with the two Amazons with Boeotian shields on the aryballos. Notably characteristic is the jaw, "fleshy," level, and, except sometimes where the head is bent, quite deep horizontally. The division between chin and lips tends to be sharp-set. In most respects the drawing of the head recalls the Andokides Painter, though it avoids the grotesque double chin which the latter's rendering sometimes suggests (F.R., pls. 111, 133). In its variations, the head type drawn by our artist is seen to follow that of the Andokides Painter quite closely. The mouth is sometimes drawn up, as if in imitation of the smile of archaic sculpture. Compare the Athena of F.R., pl. 4 (upper) with the hetaira of the Munich cup. In both cases, a fossette is indicated at the corner of the mouth. For mouth drawn up, see also the Bologna Amazons; for the fossette, the Munich archer. The lips are thin, especially the lower, and tend to purse, another point of connection with the Andokides Painter, to whose typical rendering they are closest on the Munich cup. Like the Andokides Painter, our artist occasionally shows the edges of the lips (compare the youth with poised spear on the New York cup with the Athena just cited and the Herakles of Cecil H. Smith, *Forman Collection,* 54, no. 305, plate, Pfuhl, fig. 316). The Andokides Painter in some cases attempts the expression of feeling (contempt, Herakles, F.R., pl. 133; benignity, Athena, *ibid.*, pl. 4, and perhaps Dionysos, Pellegrini, *V.F.*, 46) and it is possible that the rendering of the mouth of the archer and of the dancing girl on the Munich cup is meant to be expressive. The parted lips of the falling warrior on the New York cup are perhaps a commonplace (occurring even in the work of Epiktetos, who does not usually make the mouth expressive; e.g., on the unpublished cup, British Museum, E 35, which Beazley convincingly assigns to him, *A.V.*, 25, No. 17). The rendering of the *ear* varies on the New York cup. That of the falling figures has the double lobe which Hoppin (*Euthymides and His Fellows,* 141) regarded as peculiar to Hypsis. It occurs however in the Andokides Painter's work (F.R., pls. 111, 133), in Euphronios (*ibid.*, pls. 61, 92, 93) and in black-figured painting from a very early time (see Graef, *Akropolisvasen,* pl. 27). Elsewhere on the New York cup, the inner curve of the ear is a simple S. Our painter has in fact no fixed or favorite convention for the ear; a third form is seen on the Munich

cup. But the different versions are alike in their microscopic precision of rendering. The rendering of *hair* is exceptionally careful and delicate on the New York cup. Note especially the two combatants on the left of the battle, whose hair is fringed with long ringlets of thinner varnish, which are executed with a delicacy only surpassed in its period[18] on the Munich eye-cup (compare the youth with Boeotain shield there and the krobylos of the hetaira). The extremely deliberate execution, not of course such arrangements of the hair, is what is characteristic herein. I think that quite the same lingering quality in the execution of hair is scarcely to be found in red-figured painting except on works assigned to the Menon Painter, whom I shall argue to be identical with our artist.[19] The meticulousness (dotted lines, wavy lines of a regularity involving the most painfully laborious wrist-work, short lines scrupulously tapered) is best appreciated upon comparison with very refined drawing by other hands on vases of similar scale; see F.R., pls. 43, 156; Hartwig, pl. 1. The Bologna aryballos shows a treatment of hair which is not less minute; see especially the dotted hair of Herakles (compare the dotting-out of the girl's krobylos on the Munich cup) and the flowing locks of the running Amazon; in the last case eight tresses are incised in a space about a quarter of an inch wide.[20] All three vases show the use of reserved borders of hair, though these are sometimes incised (two figures of the aryballos). The employment of reserve for the edges of hair is of course remarkable in a technique which is so free with the graver. That our artist occasionally incises them will supply a needed link with the Menon Painter's recognized works, in which

[18] Peithinos, whose signed cup, to judge by the anatomy, is later, outdoes even our painter in laborious refinement (Hartwig, pls. 24, 25).

[19] Especially the amphora in Philadelphia (*Museum Journal*, 5:32, 22; figs. 17, 18). What is lost in minuteness is made up in meticulous *regularity*. But the identity of touch will be felt only if the hair of Apollo on this amphora is compared with similar arrangements of hair on large vases of related style. See Hoppin, *Euthymides and His Fellows*, pls. 7, 10, 11, 37; F.R., pls. 33, 91, 133.

[20] For incision within the hair, see: Andokides Painter, F.R., pls. 111, 133 (pitting); Psiax, Winnefeld, *Vasensammlung zu Karlsruhe*, No. 242, Welter, pl. 8; Peithinos, Hartwig, pl. 24 (wavy lines giving texture); Phintias, F.R., pl. 91 (edges of locks). The incision of the hair on the forehead of another Amazon of the aryballos goes beyond the rendering used by Skythes (Pfuhl, fig. 333 f.), who does not surround the strokes with an outline. The use of incision within the hair is one more sign that our painter was also trained in black-figured technique. Of the other artists who use it, the Andokides Painter, Psiax, and Skythes certainly worked in black-figured. On the aryballos where the incised hair occurs, our artist is actually, to the extent of the shield device, a black-figured painter; the deer is of "kleinmeister" type and is not in mere silhouette like the usual shield-devices of red-figured ware, but has incised and colored detail.

the whole line of the crown is generally incised. (See p. 52.) The appearance of reserved borders in our painter's work coincides, if I am not mistaken, with the end of his association with the Andokides Painter (who incises the border of hair). The smooth regularity of the crown line (trumpeter of the New York cup, two figures of the Munich cup) is to be noted as characteristic. It is connected of course with the "laborious suavity" of this painter's touch. For a foil, see the heads of the Andokides Painter (our artist is incapable of such a slovenly outline as that of the head of the lyre-player, F.R., pl. 111) or of Peithinos, relevant as an early archaic painter of excessive refinement who reserves the crown line (Hartwig, pls. 24, 25). In rendering the *eye,* our painter (on these three vases) always shows the iris in the case of his larger figures (the crouching spearsman of No. 1 is an exception, according to Hauser's drawing: but that seems to be one of its few inaccuracies). The smaller figures (including the New York archer) have only the pupil shown, except, as is natural, the Herakles of No. 2. We may note that neither on No. 2 nor No. 3 does the eye "turn up" where a figure is represented as mortally wounded (contrast Epiktetos, C. H. Smith, *B. M. Vases,* 3:E 35, p. 61, and Euphronios, F.R., pl. 61). The head type drawn by our painter on the New York cup and the other two vases can thus be characterized as recalling that used by the Andokides Painter, but distinguished from his by a laborious refinement and regularity in every detail. In the recognized work of the Menon Painter, close associate of the Andokides Painter, we shall find similar heads, varying only from the type of our group in respects fully accounted for by difference of scale.

Surface Anatomy.—The ankle shows on one figure (the woman) of the New York cup—two vertical lines. This is characteristic. The ankle is indicated by two more or less vertical lines (sometimes reinforced by a third line) on the eye-cup and the aryballos. We are not surprised to find this painter, with the difficulty which he finds in manipulating his relief-line tool at sudden curves, avoiding a hooked or closed form. Characteristic also (though not narrowly) is the carrying up from the ankle of a line which breaks off short and does not join either of the long vertical markings (youth "greaving," No. 3; Herakles, No. 2; archer, No. 1); however, the crouching spearsman of No. 1, untypical also in its rib markings and perhaps hurried, shows the continuous vertical which is the usual rendering in red-

figured. It may be too much to see in this short line running from near (or prolonging) the ankle mark, a link with the black-figured style; but it is found especially in black-figured (Graef, *Akropolisvasen,* pl. 38, 625*b*, pl. 49, 816, pl. 98, 2424, pl. 106, 2557; Pfuhl, fig. 223) and in early red-figured painting which has a very close connection with black-figured (photo. Alinari 23707 or Perrot and Chipiez, 10: pl. 7; Pfuhl, fig. 316; both Andokides Painter). The characteristic Y above the knee (p. 8) does not show on the New York cup, which is fractured in the only places where it could appear (the painter omits musculature on the profile legs of the well preserved part); nor can we study there his tendency to indicate the condyles of the femur by a convention resembling that which he uses for the ankle. The "three-quarter" knee of the victorious swordsman can, however, be related to profile left knees on No. 1 (the youth with Boeotian shield and the crouching spearsman), through the hook on the side. The rendering of the trunk muscles is especially interesting on the New York cup. At first sight the anatomy here seems backward. The pad-like drawing of the recti abdominis is discarded even by Epiktetos in his later signed work (compare his Theseus kylix with the London skyphos, Hoppin, *R.F.V.,* 1:319), though indeed it survives in the work of the Brygos Painter, who is too much interested in spirited outline and beautiful drapery to be pedantically occupied with superficial anatomy. The rib muscles on the swordsman are given as straight lines, recalling the early eye-cup of Epiktetos, British Museum E 3 (Hoppin, *R.F.V.,* 1:308) and the Ambrosios Painter's cup for Chelis (F.R., pl. 43); they are not recurved as on Epiktetos' Theseus cup. The iliac crest is not shown and (on the falling figure) the line of the obliquus externus is peculiarly rendered, not doubling round to meet the inguinal fold but ending parallel to it. There are no epigastric markings. The work of Epiktetos' Hipparchos period is, I believe, earlier than this cup (see p. 52 ff.); yet it gives the iliac crest, renders the anterior edge of the obliquus externus much as it appears in the work of the generation after him, and indicates at least schematically the divisions of the epigastric region (Hoppin, *R.F.V.,* 1:311; Pfuhl, fig. 323). The fact is, that like his work-mate the Andokides Painter (who begins by ignoring surface anatomy, ends by indicating it rather freely in a calligraphic way), our master cares much more for decoration than for nature. While other painters make anatomical "correctness" a duty and some even allow it to impair their design,

our painter is willing to sacrifice inopportune detail,[21] and does not trouble to keep abreast of the progress of anatomical observation. He has his hobby, but it is the perspective of the body, not its markings (see p. 28).[22] It remains to conclude this division of my description of the New York cup in its relation to Nos. 1 and 2 by pointing out how the plotting of individual muscle lines reveals, on all three pieces, a characteristic habit of drawing which we have seen elsewhere to govern his execution. The delineation of surface anatomy on these three vases very clearly displays the painter's laborious minuteness, his dry but even modulation, his measuring eye, and the extremely deliberate concentration by which this minuteness, regularity, and precision are secured. The more decidedly curved markings are traced with a steadiness and smoothness remarkable for relief line (most difficult to apply without harshness and abruptness).[23] Wherever the detail is abundant, there is great tact and precision in relating line to line. Adjacent lines (forking, parallel, touching, "missing") seem unusually sensitive to one another. It is to be noted that there is a tendency to pair lines in V and Y-shaped combinations,

[21] He not only ignores details which contemporary painters regularly attempt, but greatly varies in the amount of musculature which he shows. He indicates the muscles of the profile leg on one side of the New York cup and not on the other; on the Bologna aryballos, the figure of Herakles has full musculature, the other figures none. There are no markings on the arms of the New York figures, though the muscles of the arms are rendered with some fulness on Nos. 1 and 2. The rib muscles are shown on one nude figure of the New York battle-scene, not on the other.

[22] Neither the Munich eye-cup nor the Bologna aryballos have figures with exposed frontal trunks to compare with those of the New York cup. There is however an obvious correspondence in the rendering of rib muscles between the Munich archer and the New York swordsman. The crouching spearsman of the eye-cup shows a somewhat different treatment of these muscles, which seems to mark the edges and not the highest protuberance of each digitation (there are thus eight lines instead of four). The lines in this case curve slightly, like the rib muscles of the silen of the Menon Painter's amphora in Munich (F.R., 1:151). On two figures of the Munich eye-cup can be studied our painter's treatment of the superficial markings of the back. The schemes have no very close relation to one another and some markings are decidedly calligraphic. They illustrate again our painter's variety and lack of pedantry. Arms have no muscles indicated on the New York cup; on the Bologna aryballos also, superficial detail is here omitted, except in the case of Herakles. The muscles of the arms of Herakles must at this point be added to the features which connect the aryballos with the Munich eye-cup. In the forearms of the Munich archer and the upper arm of the Munich spearsman he avoids the common rendering of adjacent muscles as lines equally convex to one another; here one line is more or less straight, the other a curve nearly tangent (compare the thigh muscles of some figures on the same cup). A similar treatment is to be seen on the upper arms of the Bologna Herakles.

[23] It is an important point in the case for attributing Nos. 1, 2, and 3 to the same hand that they show only the sparest use of brush work for superficial anatomy and carry out nearly all details of it in relief line, which, besides being less manageable, gave too prominent an effect unless applied with a refinement for which only our painter has patience.

with the lines just failing to meet. We shall notice the same trick on amphorae already accepted as works of the Menon Painter (Munich amphora, silen; Philadelphia amphora, horse. See pp. 43, 49).[24]

The Drapery.—The drapery except in the neat prettiness of the folds and the rendering of the chiton sleeves of one figure does not in any obvious manner connect the New York cup with Nos. 1 and 2. The spotted chiton of the fallen warrior of the New York cup recalls the spotted drapery of the Munich peltast, but the "three-dot" ornament of both is a commonplace of black-figured and is used by most early red-figured painters who retain much of the black-figured tradition (while it is strange to the Epiktetans). There is, however, no inconsistency. The variations in the draping of chitons (one box-pleat, or two or none; steep or flat edges; different ways of alternating blank and pleated surfaces) are such as may occur in the work of one painter, although it is true that they are stages in a development (Langlotz, *Zeitbestimmung,* 26, 32, 36, 83. For the bearing of these variations on the chronology of our vases, see below, p. 50 ff.). The curious fashion in which two figures of the Munich cup wear their chitons (looped up), which does not occur on Nos. 2 and 3 and is hard to match closely anywhere in vase-painting is actually a link with other vases of our group, for in the stylizing of these folds is very plain the "round-handedness" which is a quality of our painter's line throughout. The knotting of the cloaks on the New York cup, the fashion in which the himation of the woman is draped over the left arm, the rippling lines of the drapery of the Munich peltast, will be noticed later as points of connection with black-figured vases of my list or with works already admitted to be by the Menon Painter.

Armor.—I find nothing in the typic of the armor on the New York cup or Nos. 1 and 2 (except the Scythian caps and perhaps the trumpet with round "bell") which is narrowly characteristic. It is somewhat old-fashioned. The decoration of cuirasses and the Corinthian helmets in the "down" position point back to black-

[24] It is interesting that we have one figure, the crouching spearsman of No. 1, to show us what happens to our painter's anatomical detail when he is forced to hurry. I think it is evident that after spending great pains on its shield and helmet he had to give less than his usual time to the rest; the hair is exceptionally simple, in the drapery the artist has spared himself the trouble of vertical folds and "laddering." The lines lose something of their steadiness and tend to flirt and twist. The conditions of (r.f.) amphora-painting, where the execution cannot afford to be quite so deliberate, seem to affect his rendering of surface anatomy in much this way. See p. 49.

figured.[25] Almost every feature of this painter's armor can be matched in type if not in drawing elsewhere in the conservative group connected with the Andokides Painter. But the Scythian Caps of the New York and Munich archers, with very long erect crest, long and narrow streamers (allowing the ear to show), and giving more than almost any other types of this cap the effect of stiff leather seem to me to be quite peculiar. Compare them with Graef, *Akropolis-vasen*, pl. 31, 606; F.R., pl. 13 (stiff, but certainly a different type); Hoppin, *B.F.V.*, 279; Gerhard, *A.V.*, *passim; Mon. Inst.*, 9: pls. 9, 10; Hoppin, *R.F.V.*, 1:36, 113, 156, 161, 314, 329, 435; 2:57, 139, 225, 351, 403. The examples from our painter's immediate circle (Andokides Painter, Psiax, Euthymides) show no special affinity to his type. There is a significant connection between these "leathery" *Scythian* caps and the unusually stiff *Thracian* caps on the Brescia and Philadelphia amphorae of the Menon Painter. In the drawing, as opposed to the typic, of the armor represented on Nos. 1, 2, and 3, our painter's characteristics are well displayed. Study the refinement of his detail on the inside of shields on Nos. 2 and 3, more exquisite than similar detail to be seen on the Odessa alabastron of Psiax (*Arch. Anz.*, 1894:180 = Pfuhl, fig. 344), who is so closely akin to our artist, but with a touch much less tensely controlled; the minuteness of execution in the shield devices of Nos. 1 and 2 (especially the bull's head of No. 1 and the "kleinmeister" deer of No. 2), the helmets and one cuirass of No. 1, the smooth unfaltering curves of volutes on helmets and cuirasses on Nos. 2 and 3.

Composition. In the design of the battle scene of the New York cup the artist shows his usual unconventionality in avoiding the more or less strict symmetry with which such scenes are generally planned; but the effect is not a complete success. The composition is not very

[25] The "down" position for the Corinthian helmet is of course regular in black-figured. It is only in decidedly late black-figured that it is worn so as to expose the face (Gerhard, *A.V.*, pls. 167, 219). With the introduction of red-figured technique, the lowered Corinthian helmet becomes too grotesque. Epiktetos never draws it so. It lingers only in the work of the Andocideans (Andokides Painter, F.R., pl. 111 = Hoppin, *R.F.V.*, 1:41; *Jb. Arch. I.*, 4:pl. 4 = Hoppin, *R.F.V.*, 1:36; Oltos, Des Vergers, *Etrurie*, 3: pl. 37 = Hoppin, *R.F.V.*, 1:171, Gerhard, *A.V.*, pls. 84, 85; Cerberus Painter, Beazley, *Vases in America*, 13, fig. 5 = Baur, *Stoddard Collection*, pl. 15, 169) who retain it out of conservatism, and a few inferior painters outside this group, who are either too lazy or too naïvely realistic to represent the face of a combatant exposed (e.g., De Ridder, figs. 80, 89 ff., also Euergides Painter, Gerhard, *A.V.*, pl. 186 and Bonn Painter, Pellegrini, *V.F.*, figs. 110, 111). As the archaic style ripens, the Corinthian helmet is regularly shown "up"; then almost vanishes from vase-painting, which prefers the Attic form until the Corinthian type comes back in the free style, to the grandiose manner of which the Corinthian and "Thracian" helmets are best adapted.

well bound together and there is no focus for the eye, which is distracted from the central pair by the pair on the right. Compositions on the outsides of cups depend to a great extent on two devices for their coherence; a horizontal "carry" at or above the handle level given by a chain of extended features (outstretched hands, shields, weapons, thyrsi, or what not), and again an interlocking near the ground-line. Our painter has used these devices, but not effectively; compare this scene, to its disadvantage, with such masterly compositions as the two sides of Epiktetos' Theseus cup (Hoppin, *R.F.V.*, 1:311) and Duris' Brussels Amazonomachy (*Corpus Vasorum,* Belgique, fasc. 1, Bruxelles Cinquantenaire III I.c., pl. 5; F.R., pl. 74) or even such fourth-rate painting as De Ridder, 2:384, fig. 89. Can we define where and why he has failed? It is through the defects of his qualities. An excessively deliberate worker, he has tact in the highest degree, but is correspondingly defective in energy and sweep. He cannot give even single figures life-like tension, though the lines of which they are built are most sensitively plotted. In the same way he cannot fuse an extended composition, though each figure is neatly related to its neighbor. By his very self-concentration he loses so much *élan* that he never gets beyond neat grouping to good composition. One can select portions of the scene that are well balanced; but the whole is not satisfying.[26] I have no doubt that the peculiar plan of decoration on the Munich eye-cup is explained by the painter's having at last realized his limitations in design. It is certainly the latest of the red-figured vases of my group (see p. 50). He reverted to this obsolescent shape because it did not oblige him to construct a scene; but at the same time he modified the scheme conventional for eye-cups in order to give room for four more figures in the "tableau vivant" poses congenial to him.[27]

The two groupings of the Bologna aryballos, especially that figured on the left of Pelligrini's plate, recall very strikingly the central triad of the New York cup. Notice particularly that the motive of the "leaping assailant" with one foot *obscured* by the *upper part* of the falling adversary's leg reappears twice on the aryballos. This is significant for my case that these vases are by the same hand. In the

[26] Professor O. M. Washburn draws my attention to the artist's inability to conceive in patterns.

[27] His figures are singularly inexpressive. Those in "violent action" have the unconvincingness of snapshots. There is most life where the whole figure does not show (see the running Amazon of No. 2; and compare fig. A with plate 1 for the "damage" done to the female figure by the recovery of portions missing in Hauser's time).

first place, the "leaping assailant" is extremely rare in red-figured painting; and again, in the examples of this motive on our Nos. 2 and 3, the way in which the figures intersect varies very little, though the black-figured vases show that other schemes of intersection are possible. I suggest reference to *Mon. Inst.*, 12:pl. 9; *Annali*, 1835, pl. C, 1; *El. cér.*, 1: pls. 5, 90; Gerhard, *A.V.*, pls. 6, 51, 63, 84, 85, 94, 211, 213; De Ridder, 2:349, fig. 80, p. 384, fig. 89; Pellegrini, *V.F.*, 180, fig. 111. Like most of our painter's eccentricities the motive is reminiscent, for, if rare in red-figured, it is not uncommon in black-figured. The design on the aryballos, while so closely related to that of the New York battle-scene, is more successful; the painter's weakness in extended composition is not so apparent, as the shape only allows a few figures to be seen at the same time. In fact, the group-wise plan, which is a fault on the New York cup, is a merit here. Again, the levels are managed better than on the New York cup. One reason why the composition on the cup seems monotonous is that there is not enough undulation. However, there are gaucheries of design on the aryballos also. It was a mistake to let the club of Herakles run up onto the shoulder, where it is lost from sight; much is detracted from the effect.[28] The best designed aryballoi do not allow the main decoration to overflow onto the shoulder, which is protected by a border, or has its own system of ornament. See *Mon. Piot.*, 13: pls. 13 and 14; *Mon. Ant.*, 22: pl. 81, 2, pp. 514 ff.; *A.Z.*, 39 (1881): pl. 8, 1. It seems to me that the poses of the figures are insufficiently adjusted to the curvature of the vase. Quieter scenes, unfolding gradually, or repetitions of single figures or pairs of figures in comparatively restrained poses, such as we see on the examples cited, are really more suitable to the round aryballos. I must return to the medallion of the interior of the New York cup, the first example of a figured design in a round frame which this painter's work has offered us. Once again, there is something unconventional; figures *riding* are much commoner in interiors than figures leading horses; where the motive of horse and dismounted man occurs, the design generally rests on a chord (Hoppin, *R.F.V.*, 1:172, 315, 2:240; and include von Lücken, pl. 90, where the horse is not really treading on the margin).[29] The design is well patterned for its space, showing, like the central groups of the Munich eye-cup, that our painter can com-

[28] Compare, on the New York cup, the intrusion of the fallen warrior's spear into the departure scene.

[29] But Beazley draws my attention to *C.V.*, Gt. Britain, fasc. 3, Oxford III I., pl. 1, 6, where the treatment is quite close to that on the New York cup.

pose well enough "at short range." Not only the structure but the tone (light and dark) is well combined; moreover, before the white paint flaked, the effect must have been attractively rich and gay. The weakest part of the design is the lack of tension; the balance is geometrically but not organically satisfactory. The archer is too like a marionette and there is no symmetry of strain between this figure and the horse.

Recapitulating, I may say that our Nos. 1 to 3 reveal one painter's hand in certain weaknesses of design. He can pose elegantly and group effectively, but over a wide extension his composition loses coherence and decorative significance. Inability to animate even single figures convincingly contributes to his failure. There is an obvious connection between this lack of verve in design and the quality of his drawing, which is extremely sensitive, but too deliberate.

Perspective. I include under this heading our painter's choice of aspects, and not merely his portrayal or suggestion of receding objects. This pioneer of the red-figured style shows surprising boldness in courting difficulties of representation and attacks the problems with characteristic patience and concentration. He is even readier than many artists of the next generation to risk the "unfamiliar view," and is one of the few painters of the whole archaic period whose work shows more than the mere germ of a linear perspective. For rear views of the body, see the New York cup (the fallen warrior, whose pose also involves the rendering of a foot with sole upturned); Munich eye-cup (archer, crouching spearsman); for a leg in three-quarter view, the New York cup; for three-quarter views of shields, both cups and the aryballos. The rear views attempted on the cups are unusually complicated. The New York warrior is possibly the earliest example of an armed figure in back view, though the motive occurs on a cup by Epiktetos in the possession of Mrs. Josephine P. Morgan.[30] But there only the helmet and trunk are out of profile. It is on the ripe archaic psykter in the Villa Giulia (*C.V.*, Italia, fasc. 1, Villa Giuilia III I. c., pl. 3, 2; F.R., pl. 15) that we first find anything like so daring a treatment of the motive as our painter's. The archer of the Munich cup is almost the only example in archaic vase-painting of a kneeling figure with a leg shown in rear view (p. 32). This motive involves problems of perspective quite beyond the courage of archaic draughtsmen. Our painter's drawing of profile and

[30] *Art and Archaeology*, 20:121, *P.A.P.A.*, 57; xxi f., and here fig. I. Beazley assigns it to Epiktetos (though it is not in the list of Epiktetos' works in his *Attische Vasenmaler*) and tells me that he thinks it later than the New York cup.

three-quarter shields is especially worth study. The fallen figure of the New York cup has his shield in strict profile, something noteworthy on a red-figured vase. This rendering is the earliest of the five ways of representing a more or less profile shield which I can distinguish in archaic vase-painting; let us call it *type 1.* It is the only alternative to the frontal shield in early black-figured Corinthian (Pottier, *V. du Louvre,* pl. 49, E 635), Laconian (*C.V.,* France, fasc. 1, Louvre III D.c., pl. 7, 3), and "Tyrrhenian" (e.g., *Jb. Arch. I.,* 8: pl. 1). In early black-figured vase-painting this rendering is a "construction," independent of observation; for exact profile is naturally the least "likely" view of a shield. In archaic red-figured, on the other hand, *type 1* is quite uncommon. The prevailing convention (it may be called *type 2*) for the shield in side view makes the edge convex; it is no longer an exact profile, for the edge of a round shield cannot become apparently convex unless the center is tilted somewhat toward the "three-quarter" position. This new rendering in so far as it is derived from observation is an advance, but the majority of late black-figured and early red-figured artists, in drawing shields of *type 2,* blunder in their treatment of the shield-devices and often of the borders; both may still be rendered as if in strict profile. See *Mon. Inst.,* 9: pl. 11, and 10: pl. 22, 2; Hartwig, pl. 21 (= Hoppin, *R.F.V.,* 1:229), early Douris; *W.V.,* 5: pl. 5, Panaitios Painter. Our painter has here used *type 1* instead of the favorite *type 2,* with a special meaning, as we shall see. In fact, if we consider together the shield of the fallen figure of the New York cup, the shield with device of a deer on the aryballos, the shield with boukranion on the Munich cup, we shall find a thoughtful perspective of the shield in side view betraying more interest and more reflection than most of this master's contemporaries seem to have given to the problems. It is not too much to say that his patient meticulousness is as apparent here as in his execution of line. The shield of *type 1* on the New York cup is of course not a mere survival of the "constructed" profile of earlier vase-painting; it is deliberately chosen instead of the prevailing *type 2* as exactly the right view for the shield of a figure in this plight, held level to ward off a blow from above. The shield with the deer (on the aryballos) is of *type 2,* but the common error of leaving the device in strict profile is avoided and there is an attempt, not quite successful, to give a realistic perspective to the border. The bull-head shield of the Munich cup is also of *type 2;* if I am not mistaken, the device is broader than it would

be in strict profile (contrast Hartwig, pl. 21), and thus the device is adjusted to the tilting of the shield. But here too the rendering of the border is not equally advanced.[31] Or again, compare with one another his shields which expose part of the interior (those of the swordsman of the New York cup, three figures of the aryballos, one figure of the Munich cup). The edges form an ellipsoid figure (*type 5*); the painter has avoided the mistake of making the near edge straight (*type 3;* regular in later black-figured from the time of Kolchos, Gerhard, *A.V.*, pl. 122, and surviving even in ripe-archaic red-figured painting, F.R., 1:239, pl. 106). It is worth noticing that the artists in our painter's immediate circle, Psiax, the Andokides Painter, and Hypsis, still cling to *type 3* (Hoppin, *R.F.V.*, 2:399—Psiax; F.R., pl. 133—Andokides Painter; *ibid.*, pl. 82—Hypsis). Nor does this painter ever draw both edges convex, as if the shield was creased (*type 4;* from later black-figured into ripe archaic red-figured; see Graef, *Akropolisvasen,* pl. 78, 1300, Gerhard, *A.V.*, pl. 193; Hartwig, pl. 1; *C.V.*, Belgique, fasc. 1, Bruxelles Cinquantenaire III I. c., pl. 3, 1). He is of course by no means the only artist of his time who understands the curvature of the edges of shields in this aspect (see *Museo Gregoriano,* 2: pl. 10 = 2 A, pl. 13; Hoppin, *R.F.V.*, 1:329; von Lücken, pl. 40); but he is in advance of almost all his contemporaries in accuracy of proportions. The tendency at this time is to show too much of the exterior, so that the shield seems to dome like a dish-cover; but our painter's drawing is nearer Douris' treatment of shields of this type. In Douris, who did much to improve the perspective of shields, the form is flatter; compare with the examples last cited his kantharos in Brussels (*C.V.*, Belgique, fasc. 1, Bruxelles Cinquantenaire III I. c., pl. 6, and F.R., pl. 74), where the convexity of the shields is slight, and the still later Berlin cup (*A.Z.*, 41 [1883]: pl. 3 = Hoppin, *R.F.V.*, 1:219) with shields which appear quite flat. But our master has not studied the question of the visibility of the rim as closely as Douris, who is careful to make outside and inside borders overlap. The Bologna aryballos shows one shield (that of the adversary of Herakles) bordered by two lines continuously parallel. Borders are a stumbling-block to him in other aspects of shields (see p. 29).

[31] A little of the border should have been visible beyond the vertical axes. For a more sophisticated treatment of the border in an otherwise childish painting, see Hoppin, *R.F.V.*, 2:283. Perhaps we can say that the treatment of the border of this shield on the Munich cup is not so much mistaken as evasive. The artist seems to use the warrior's chin and the decorative eye to mask the troublesome parts.

Most interesting of all, in his rendering of shields of *type 5,* is this painter's treatment of the left forearm under the shield, because here (on the aryballos and eye-cup) we have something like a strictly perspective rendering of a *limb*. Perspective drawing of parts of the body with the recession clearly shown and foreshortening applied is extremely rare in archaic vase-painting and even in the free style not really common (see Pfuhl, sec. 401 ff., p. 377 ff.). In the case indeed of the swordsman of the New York cup we have only the suggestion of a perspective arm (though perhaps an unusually bold case of this—the axis of the forearm is in the line of sight). But on the aryballos and the eye-cup the shield-arm is drawn with perhaps even more daring than on the Berlin cup of Aristophanes (F.R., pl. 127), which belongs to the developed free style. On the exterior of the cup of Aristophanes the problem is shirked, for the forearm is not shown; in the interior, though there is perhaps some actual foreshortening, Aristophanes is glad to make use of the shield-staple to mask the forearm. On the aryballos and the eye-cup, a considerable length of the forearm is shown, though even here the clenched fingers obscure the wrist and mitigate the foreshortening. Exactly similar drawing is to be seen only on a fine late black-faced hydria in Berlin (F.R., pl. 154, 2), regarded by Zahn and Beazley as a work of the Menon Painter (see p. 4). The figure of Kyknos on a black-figured hydria in the Vatican exhibits what is an even more venturesome rendering of the shield-arm, if the reproduction in *Museo Gregoriano,* 2: pl. 10 (= A, pl. 13) is faithful and the vase has not been retouched.[32] A vase figured in von Lücken, pl. 40, perhaps offers an example of foreshortening, but I am not sure that the forearm is really shown (is it only the staple that can be seen?). Apart from these three examples, the aryballos and the eye-cup seem to be the only early archaic vases which approach a frankly perspective rendering of the shield arm. Compare the examples cited by Zahn, F.R., 3:233, note 22; also the following, not all early archaic but all instructive: Gerhard, *A.V.,* pl. 2, 166; Pottier, *V. du Louvre,* pl. 137, G 342; *C.V.,* Italia, fasc. 1, Villa Giulia III H.e., pl. 10, 1, *ibid.,* III I.c., pl. 4, 3, fasc. 2, Villa Giulia III H.e., pl. 16, 1 and 3, Belgique, fasc. 1, Bruxelles Cinquantenaire III I.c., pl. 7, 2b, pl. 9; *Annali,* 1850, pls. H–I; Beazley, *Vases in America,* 173. These display the ingenuity of the vase-painters in

[32] In the reproduction the lines on the outside of the shield are suspicious and the shield brace seems to cross the arm too high.

evading or minimizing a perspective rendering and show that the confident foreshortenings which in time appear (e.g., *Compte rendu,* 1866: pl. 6) are by no means the rule even in the free style.

I have already alluded to the remarkable rendering of the right leg of the archer of the Munich eye-cup (p. 28). This is perspective drawing without qualification; thigh and calf are unmistakably foreshortened. With bravado our artist deliberately varies the motive of a kneeling figure, in such a way as to invite difficulties which his contemporaries avoid by a profile or partly frontal pose. Compare: Hoppin, *R.F.V.,* 1:233, 2:225, 283. For a rear view recalling the pose of the Munich archer, but shirking explicit perspective, see Roulez, pl. 11, 1*a*.[33]

It is one of the strongest arguments for assigning the three red-figured vases of this list to one painter, that each shows experiments in representation the boldness of which is in contrast to the conservatism of the technique and the feminine preciosity of the style. As will appear, it is also a reason for attributing them to the Menon Painter (p. 48 f.).

[33] For frontal poses which evade foreshortening, see Pfuhl, sec. 408, p. 384.

IV

The London and Berlin Plates

To the hand that painted the foregoing vases I assign the following black-figured plates:[1]

N. 4. London, British Museum (B 591). Walters, *B. M. Vases*, 2:264; *idem*, *J.H.S.*, 29:108 ff. My plate 4.

No. 5. London, British Museum (B 590). Walters, *B. M. Vases*, 2:264; *idem*, *J.H.S.*, 29:108 ff., pl. 11, right. My fig. E, indicating the slight restorations.

No. 6. Berlin, Altes Museum (2099). Furtwängler, *Berl. Vas.*, 1:460; Walters, *J.H.S.*, 29:108 ff., pl. 10.

No. 7. London, British Museum (B 589). Walters, *B. M. Vases*, 2:264; *idem*, *J.H.S.*, 29:108 ff., pl. 11, left; Richter, *Ancient Furniture*, fig. 115.

These plates are well known. Walters, in the valuable article to which I refer, tentatively assigned No. 6 to Sakonides, Nos. 4, 5, and 7 he associated with "the school of Hischylos and his brother artists." Pfuhl (sec. 299, p. 290 f.) takes issue with Walter's attribution of No. 6. He refuses to assign any of them, but apparently regards them as the work of one hand.

The red-figured vases just studied have prepared us by many survivals of black-figured technique and manner for the discovery of works by this artist in the older style. The plan of decoration of these plates, which is singular, points to one hand, and that our painter's, for none could be better adapted to his limitations. In treatment of the field, these pieces resemble neither the typical black-figured plate nor the red-figured plate as Epiktetos or even Oltos designs it. The black-figured plate has as a rule floral ornament on the brim; the field is crowded; when the figures are small, there are many of them,

[1] Another red-figured work by this painter is probably to be seen in the kylix at Compiègne published in *C.V.*, France, fasc. 3, Compiègne, pl. 13 (nos. 9 and 10), pl. 15 (no. 1). This was once connected by Beazley with the Menon Painter (*Vases in America:* 6), though it does not appear in his later lists of this artist's works (*A.V.*, 9, *J.H.S.*, 47:92). I have not been able to obtain a photograph for study of the finer details, which are not clear in the *Corpus Vasorum;* but the modulation of the forms (in the diota as well as in the figure) seems to me to betray our painter's touch. Again, the pose gives the same impression of arrested energy as most of his figures in "violent action"; there is no illusion of motion such as is offered by the running figures of the Painter of the Bowdoin Eye-Cup (Schaal, pl. 28), Epiktetos (Hoppin, *R.F.V.*, 1:305 ff.) and even quite inferior artists (e.g., Pottier, *V. du Louvre*, pl. 91, G 36, pl. 99, G 95). Like the archer of the New York cup, the youth of the Compiègne vase seems to be working a treadmill. For the connection of the Compiègne piece with the Brachas cup, see Appendix.

and what is not covered by figures is filled in with accessories; with ornamented border and well covered field, the plate carries as much decoration as possible. See: Roulez, pl. 17; *Mon. Ant.*, 22:500; Graef, *Akropolisvasen*, pl. 98, 2424, pl. 99, 2428*a*, 2451, 2452, 2465; *Ath. Mitt.*, 7:pl. 3; Baur, *Stoddard Collection*, pl. 5, 127. Our plates on the contrary are sparely decorated. On a short base-line (not a full chord) is placed a figure small in proportion to the field, in a pose which is graceful in itself and not very apparently conditioned by the space in which the figure lies. This scheme is again very different from that of the Oltan or Epiktetan plate, which is treated very much like the interior of a cup, the circle or segment being regarded as a frame, which the design, more or less cunningly, is made to fill. See, for Oltos, *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, 7: pl. 4, 3; Hoppin, *R.F.V.*, 2:409; for Epiktetos, Hoppin, *R.F.V.*, 1:306, 314, 315, 316, 324, 325, 330; Langlotz, *Gr. Vasenbilder*, pl. 2 left. For similar plates by others see Beazley, *Vases in America*, 5, fig. 1 bis; p. 31, fig. 15; Klein, *Euphronios*, p. 52. For the plate of Euthymides, with short base-line but otherwise quite cup-like in composition, see Hoppin, *R.F.V.*, 1:438. Nearer our group in plan of decoration is the plate in Oxford inscribed with the love-name Miltiades (*C.V.*, Gt. Britain, fasc. 3, Oxford III I, pl. 1, 5), with its single rider small in scale, the plate with the doubtful signature "Sokles" in the Louvre (CA 2182. Hoppin, *R.F.V.*, 2:420), and the works of the Cerberus Painter (see Beazley, *A.V.*, 29 f.).[2] But none of these show quite the *amor vacui* which characterizes the present black-figured plates, and is the first hint of our painter's hand; for their scheme is so perfectly adapted to his gift for posing and his weakness in decorative design.

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[2] Zahn is even inclined to give our Nos. 1 and 2 to the Cerberus Painter ("Io Master"), F.R. 3:234, note 31. That the master of the eye-cup and the aryballos is not identical with the Cerberus Painter, however near these artists stand to one another, will be realized on noting:

a. The absence in the former's work (so idealizing) of the grotesque quality of the latter's style.

b. The head type preferred by the Cerberus Painter with its curiously shaped skull; very different from our painter's type and tending to be much larger.

c. The Cerberus Painter's tendency to place the pupil inwards (with our painter, always central).

d. The extreme angularity of the Cerberus Painter's style; he tends to sharpen everything off. For all its niggling, his is a harsh style.

e. The occurrence, over at least a fairly wide group, of features which might seem to connect the Bologna aryballos with the Cassandra plate (Beazley, *Vases in America*, 13, fig. 5 = Baur, *Stoddard Collection*, pl. 15, no. 169). Corinthian helmet down, Hoppin, *R.F.V.*, 1:171, 2:303, etc.; helmets of the type worn by Athena and two of the Amazons, Pfuhl, figs. 314, 360; striped scabbards, Pfuhl, figs. 345, 378. Cassandra and the dancing woman of the Munich cup are alike only in their nudity; contrast hair, head types, hands.

British Museum B 591.

The drawing bears out what the system of decoration suggests. It is clear in the first place that Nos. 4 and 5 are by one hand: more than that, they are companion pieces; archer and hoplite are as much pendants as the figures on the Odessa alabastron of Psiax (*Arch. Anz.*, 1894, p. 180 = Pfuhl, fig. 344) or Epiktetos' cup, Louvre G 5 (Pottier, *V. du Louvre*, pl. 89 = Hoppin, *R.F.V.*, 1:327). The balance in subject and treatment is in fact perfect; there is the favorite antithesis of hoplite and archer; the hoplite is trumpeting to right and upwards,

Fig. E. British Museum B 590.

the archer to left and downwards; the busy hands are at the same distance from the bells of the trumpets, the free hands at the same distance from the waist; the part of the free hand that is concealed on one plate is shown on the other. Notice also that Nos. 4 and 5 are the same size, 7½ inches (approximately 19 cm.). This is a common size for plates, and the coincidence would not be significant if the Dionysos plate (No. 7), entirely unrelated in subject but certainly by the same hand, as we shall presently see, did not have a different measurement. No. 6, close to Nos. 4 and 5 in subject—in fact an afterthought to these pendants—has the same measurement as they.

Nos. 4 and 5 are thus the work of one man, and I am convinced that their artist is no other than the painter of Nos. 1, 2, and 3. Compare Nos. 4 and 5 with Nos. 1, 2, and 3 and with the following

examples of careful late black-figured: *J.H.S.*, 29: pls. 8 and 9; Graef, *Akropolisvasen*, pl. 106, 2557, pl. 110, 2586 (both the latter by Skythes), 2591. The comparison will leave the impression that none of these black-figured pieces can have been the work of our painter except our Nos. 4 and 5 and that the style of these latter is amazingly like that of Nos. 1, 2, and 3. The examples which are superficially closest to our painter's manner serve best to bring this home; *J.H.S.*, 29: pl. 8 has far too much energy to be his work; Akropolis 2591 has our artist's minuteness but not his tact. On the other hand, our Nos. 4 and 5, in the poses, the manipulation of line, and a number of significant resemblances in their detail show the style of the painter of Nos. 1, 2, and 3.

In the attitudes, graceful but not tense enough to be expressive, the peculiar inertia of our painter's figure-drawing is so evident that it is hardly necessary to suggest comparison with the Andokides Painter's trumpeter (*Jb. Arch. I.*, 4: pl. 4), or Epiktetos' trumpeting silen (Hoppin, *R.F.V.*, 1:308).[3] And as in our painter's work, it is the lower part of the figure that detracts most from the vigor of the whole effect. The incised detail has the precision of our painter's relief line and brush work, is executed with the like dwelling, deliberate touch, and shows conspicuously the tact in relating adjacent lines which is so characteristic of his drawing. This tact, which never draws a line without setting it very delicately to some other line, is especially obvious in the drapery of the London trumpeter (No. 5), and the detail of the same figure's helmet. It is particularly instructive to compare the helmet with other Attic helmets. Study, for form and relation to neighboring features, the crown, geison, ornamental lines and volutes, cheek-piece, and nape-piece on the following vases: Hartwig, pl. 10, 18 (2), F.R., pl. 22 (Athena), 82, 111, 133, 156; Hoppin, *Euthymides and his Fellows*, pl. 15. It will become clear how closely related the drawing of the helmet of the London trumpeter (and of the helmet of the Berlin warrior, No. 6) is to that of the Attic helmets on Nos. 1, 2, and 3, although no two of all these agree in form and decoration.

Further: (*a*) In proportion and outline, the face types of Nos. 4 and 5 agree very closely with those of the figures of the New York cup. (*b*) On Nos. 4 and 5, the drawing of the hand holding the trumpet surprisingly resembles the corresponding hand of the New

[3] I cite the Andokides Painter's trumpeter not because it is vigorous but because, unless very much libeled by the drawing, it has nothing like the grace of these figures.

York trumpeter, though naturally, as the latter's hand is seen from the outside and is moreover in a different technique, the rendering there is not quite identical. (*c*) The Scythian cap on No. 4 is a variation of the type shown by Nos. 1 and 3 to be characteristic of our painter. It has the exceptionally high and slender crest (but turned forward at the tip, instead of backward as on No. 3), the long narrow streamers, and it shows the ear. (*d*) No. 5 shows, like two figures of No. 3, a chlamys which is knotted (instead of being fastened with a brooch). It is true that the knotted chlamys occurs elsewhere (*J.H.S.*, 29: pl. 8; Graef, *Akropolisvasen*, pl. 110, 2591). But the folds of the knot on Nos. 3 and 5 are drawn in the same way, and differently from the knot-folds on the other examples. (*e*) There is an extraordinarily close connection between the poses of the London archer and the archer of the New York cup, as regards the carriage of the body and the projection of the arms. If I may so express it, were the chord on which the London archer stands withdrawn, the figure would tumble into the attitude of the New York archer. (*f*) Again the relation of the quiver to the leg, in the case of New York and London archers, is very nearly the same; the relation of the quiver to the (middle) line of the opening of the jerkin is identical. The spiral-and-dot patterns on the quivers are the same, except that on No. 5 the quiver has an extra row of dots. The *tongues* of quivers not infrequently have spiral decoration; on the *bodies* of quivers it is rare enough for the coincidence to be remarkable.[4]

I cannot separate the Berlin warrior (No. 6) and the London Dionysos (No. 7) from Nos. 4 and 5. I find in the former pair as in the latter all the peculiarities of our artist's posing and drawing. Details to which I would call special attention are: the helmet of the Berlin warrior, so like that of the London trumpeter; the hands and feet on both Nos. 6 and 7; the musculature of the thigh of the Berlin warrior, recalling as far as it goes corresponding detail on Nos. 1 and 2; the rendering of the hair on the forehead of Dionysos, very like the rendering on Nos. 4 and 5 and all the more significant because this is a feature which was executed without much thought; the rippling drapery of the same figure, giving a connection with the Munich peltast.

[4] The plain spiral on the tongues of quivers is really a different motive from the dotted spiral used by our painter. I am aware of the Pan Painter's dotted spirals on the bodies of quivers; F.R., pl. 16; *Jh. Oest. Arch. I.*, 16: pl. 2.

V

Attribution to the Menon Painter

My opinion that the vases which I have just enumerated and assigned to one hand are the work of the Menon Painter is based on a close examination of the amphora in Philadelphia with the signature of the potter Menon. It shares with vases of our group eccentricities of technique which, I venture to say, are not found in red-figured painting except in that group and on this amphora. Even so, I should hesitate to ascribe my group to the painter of the amphora, if the determinant qualities of its style did not clearly appear on the amphora, modified by the greater scale of the decoration and the character of the field, which affect his line and his composition respectively. And it must be borne in mind that when he painted his large vases, he was in all likelihood a potter's subordinate; in the case of the Philadelphia and Madrid amphorae, signed by potters, that is certain.[1] In relating the amphorae to the smaller vases, we have to take account of the factor that the former were probably task-work; whereas, if the evidence for a second hand in the accessory decoration of No. 3 is conclusive and if further we can argue from the originality of the fabric of No. 1 and No. 3 that the painter designed the shapes and planned the whole scheme of decoration, we must suppose that the Menon Painter was his own master at the time when he was working on the smaller vases, and could freely follow his own bent. It is after all the conventionality of his large-scale painting which most divides it from his miniatures, which are highly unconventional. This conventionality (it is no paradox to say) is the exaggeration of certain defects present in his most congenial work. He is never able even there to compose organically, never equals the best designers in energy of expression. On a small scale, with a suitable field and subject, he can indeed keep within his limitations and by daintiness and novelty compensate for them. On the amphorae, he is out of his element. The scale exposes his shortcomings glaringly and takes the bloom off his delicacy; prescription gives his originality or rather independence no scope, though on the Munich amphora, in the excitement of competition with the Andokides Painter, something of his natural adventurousness breaks through (p. 48 f.).

[1] The Castle Ashby amphora might be added, if we accept the attribution of Zahn and Beazley (see p. 4). But this is a special case, being of exceptional form and adapted to miniature decoration. The potter, Andokides, has here had some regard for his decorator's limitations.

The best reproductions of the Philadelphia vase, the drawings accompanying Mrs. Edith Hall Dohan's article in *M.J.*, 5:31 ff. (figs. 18 and 20, pp. 33 and 36, supplemented by half-tone illustrations, figs. 17 and 19, pp. 32 and 35) are not quite complete. Besides omitting some of the detail traced with the wooden sketching tool,[2] they

Fig. F. The Philadelphia Amphora (Spearheads).

do not indicate a feature which for my question is of the first importance, namely, that the heads of the spears carried by the youth (*ibid.*, fig. 20) are *incised* (see my fig. F). Here we have a use of incision not found elsewhere in red-figured vase-painting, except on our Nos. 1, 2, and 3, where the *edges of weapons* are incised.[3]

[2] I do not mean "Vorzeichnung" but the incised detail drawn with the blunter of the two instruments used here.

[3] For the extent to which incision is used in red-figured vase-painting (besides its regular employment to mark the outline of the crown of the head) see Pfuhl, sec. 359 *ad fin.*, 360. Add these further examples, some of which are noticed elsewhere by him: *fillets, wreaths* or *crowns,* Furtwängler, *Berl. Vas.* 2: nos. 2174, 2202, C. H. Smith, *B. M. Vases,* 3: nos. E 12, E 15, E 299; *strings, ibid.,* nos. E 41, E 253, E 256, E 400; *reins,* Beazley, *C.V.,* Gt. Britain, fasc. 3 (text), p. 2, no. 5; *anatomical detail,* Flot, *C.V.,* France, fasc. 3 (text), p. 9, gr. III I, b, 9; *patterns on drapery,* Smith, *B. M. Vases,* 3: no. E 48; *stalks of grapes, tongue of serpent, eye of lion, ibid.,* no. E 253. I need not enumerate all the cases where incision is used to mark the outline of *bunches of grapes* or to give interior detail of *hair,* or to edge *horse-tails.*

The Philadelphia amphora shows another trick of technique which appears not to be found in archaic red-figured except in our group, where it occurs on the New York cup (No. 3): the use of white for spear-shafts and for the manes of horses.[4] The liberal employment of red on the amphora[5] need not be emphasized, as the incised spear-heads and white give a much more striking indication of connection (p. 15 f.). It is conceivable, though it would be a very strange coincidence, that the work of another hand should combine the same three abnormalities of technique as the New York cup. But we shall find that the style of the Philadelphia amphora, once we grasp it objectively by means of appropriate comparisons, is the style of our group.

The most prominent quality of the style of the group which I have given to the artist of the Munich eye-cup is, I have insisted, its lingering and deliberate refinement. No painter of the time has so slow and measuring a touch; no one's drawing is so regular, controlled, and recollected. This quality is equally present in his forms and his detail. If we compare the Philadelphia amphora with our group in the first respect (the forms or contours), we shall be led to conclude that no one is closer to the artist of the small vases than the Menon Painter. The amphora in Munich gives perhaps a better opportunity of studying the relation of the Menon Painter's interior drawing to the detail of the painter of our group, though there are certain significant details of the Philadelphia vase which I shall have to discuss before I pass to the Munich amphora.

Characteristic of the Painter of our group is the sensitiveness of each stroke of an outline, at the same time a certain inertness in the outline, as a whole. Each curve is traced with a brooding smoothness, but, in spite or because of this, there is something inelastic in the total effect. I find these qualities, and to the same degree, in the drawing of the Menon Painter's forms. To compare with the Apollo of the Philadelphia amphora the citharist of the Andokides Painter's amphora G 1 in the Louvre (F.R., pl. 111), and the Artemis of the latter's amphora in Berlin (*ibid.*, pl. 133) with the Artemis of the Philadelphia piece is to appreciate how smooth and sure is the Menon Painter's drawing in each stroke of his outlines. To contrast with the Philadelphia Artemis the figure of Briseis on the amphora in

[4] White for silens' tails can hardly be counted a parallel, as these are so often painted red; to paint a silen's tail for once white would be quite natural.

[5] In the palmette ornament under the handles (core and drop), the wreaths of Leto and Apollo, the vertical bars on the cross-piece of the lyre, Artemis' flower, alternate leaves of the spray in her left hand, the border of her mantle, the tails of the horses, the lead.

London by Oltos (Beazley, *Vases in America*, p. 9, fig. 4), or to study comparable figures of Peithinos' signed cup (Hartwig, pl. 25) is to feel how devoid of life is the sum of all the beautiful strokes which make up each figure of the Menon Painter's triad, and to be reminded of the figures of the vases of our group. The Artemis is a posed lay figure, like the London Dionysos; the Apollo has the rigidity of the warrior with Boeotian shield on the Munich eye-cup. That the Artemis repeats significant details of the Dionysos and that the Apollo is in type and details intimately related to the warrior are points that will be discussed in their place. The horseman on the reverse of the Philadelphia amphora is to the active figures of the Munich eye-cup group as the triad of deities is to the Dionysos and the warrior. The modulations of the contour make us think of the Amazons of the aryballos, while the appreciable difference in proportions can be discounted; proportions, as is well known, are liable to vary with the shape and size of the field. In expressiveness, the horseman ranks at or a little above the best level of the artist of the Munich eye-cup, the subject being one which is favorable to a painter weak in organizing his figures and his compositions, as will be realized on reference to Epiktetos' immature cup in Berlin (Hoppin, *R.F.V.*, 1:305). There the youth with horses is much more convincing than any of the athletes on the same cup. The Amazons are again recalled by the horseman's pose, in itself and in relation to the composition. Notice the use that is made on both vases of bent arms and spears canted across the body, to knit the composition and carry it to the edge of the field. I may point out details of rendering and execution in this figure which corroborate the other indications of our painter's hand. The stylization of the Thracian cap (as likewise on the Brescia amphora) is unusual. It is much more like the high stiff *Scythian* hat, of which the painter of the Munich eye-cup is so fond, than is the typical Thracian headdress. For the latter see Hartwig, pls. 14, 53, 54, 55; F.R., pl. 58, 3:109; Pottier, *V. du Louvre,* pl. 126, G 165. There it is low-fitting, does not as a rule show the ear, and is marked all over with broad spots or bars representing the variegation of fur. The Menon Painter's version, ogival in shape and suggesting the stiffness of tanned leather, showing the ear between streamers or flaps, and with markings only on the rear flap is in fact a cross between the regular type and the *Scythian* cap as it is drawn on vases of our group. It is noteworthy that on the small portion of the Philadelphia horseman's cap where fur is indicated, the Menon Painter substitutes

for the normal stripes or blotches the fine stippling so congenial to the painter of our group (Nos. 1 and 2). Thus even on a large amphora, he goes out of his way to make opportunities for microscopic minuteness.[6] Less obvious but important clues are offered by the draping of the chlamys over the left arm of this figure and the form of the scalloped ornament on the boots. For the arm, compare the woman of the New York cup, which figure shows the Menon Painter's trick of exposing as much as possible of the near forearm where the mantle or chlamys is thus draped.[7] The effect in the London Dionysos plate would have been the same, if the artist had not been obliged to double back the hanging part of the himation to show the stool—in the same way and for the same reason that the himation is doubled back on the Brescia amphora. The ornament on the boots of the Philadelphia horseman is to other renderings of the same feature as the imbrication of the shield on our No. 6 is to the scale work of shields on other black-figured vases. Compare: (ornament of boots) F.R., pl. 4, 16, 22, 32, 158; Graef, *Akropolisvasen*, pl. 110, 2586; (imbrications) Gerhard, *A.V.*, 213; *Münchener Archäologische Studien* (Lippold), p. 410, fig. 2, p. 464, fig. 23. It shows the patient round-handedness of the painter of our group, who scarcely ever hurries his curves.[8] Full discussion of every feature of this vase which bears on my case is impossible; but I must notice certain points in the treatment of the ornament, the horses, and the figures of Artemis and Apollo.

A characteristic feature of the ornament under the handles of the Menon Painter's amphorae, distinguishing it from ornament used by other painters on the same part of the same type of amphora, is the introduction of a drop-shaped space-filler (Bates, *A.J.A.*, 1905, 171,

[6] On his small vases, the Menon Painter's execution is minute as well as regular throughout. On his amphorae, it is everywhere regular, minute to an inappropriate degree where an excuse for ultra-refined treatment can be found. Study the incised flower held by Leto and the tooled detail on the horse, some lines of which escaped even the careful draughtsman of the plate in *M.J.*, or the shield device on the Madrid amphora. The work of the Andokides Painter offers instructive foils; see F.R., pl. 111.

[7] This exposure of the forearm is repeated again and again on the Menon Painter's amphorae. It is not peculiar to him (see Baur, *Stoddard Collection*, pl. 15, 170), but his predilection for it and its comparative infrequency elsewhere make it rank in his work as a characteristic. Contrast: F.R., pl. 111; *Mon. Inst.*, 10: pl. 23; Hoppin, *Euthymides and His Fellows*, pls. 7, 8, 12, 16.

[8] There is no curved or looped object on this vase that does not confirm my identification of the painter of the Munich eye-cup with the Menon Painter. Careful comparison with the treatment of like objects by other painters has brought home to me the *deliberateness* of the Menon Painter's curves; that is their distinguishing quality. They are never coarse or slovenly; at the same time they are never lively and fluid.

fig. 2; Lau, pl. 12, 2). It occurs on the Philadelphia vase. Now, on the New York cup, in the small portion of the base-border which was traced by the painter of the scenes, similar piriform drops hang from the lotus flowers. A motive of this shape is of course particularly congenial to a hand of smooth, lingering habit.

The use of white for horse-hair is almost enough to make the horses of this amphora the nearest in red-figured painting to that of the New York cup; the repetition of so unexampled a treatment would outweigh some discrepancy in drawing. But in fact the New York horse differs only as a simplification. As it is on a much smaller scale, the minuter detail has been sacrificed, and some features which are characteristic of the horses of the Menon Painter's large vases have been more simply rendered (see below, on the Munich amphora, p. 46). In the contours and the detail least liable to be affected by reduction, there is closer correspondence than we should expect to find between works of different hands. I suggest comparison with the horses of other painters in the following respects: (1) curves and swellings of the neck, and the relation of the neck and back to the shoulder line; (2) the form of the shoulder line; (3) the relation of the tail to the hind-quarters; (4) the relation of the hair of the tail to the fleshy part. Moreover, the surface anatomy of the Menon Painter's horses reminds us of the treatment of musculature in the group of the Munich eye-cup (p. 23 f.).

The figure of Artemis (as also the Maenads of the Madrid amphora) can be connected with the Dionysos of our No. 7 in the rendering of the chiton sleeve (study especially the puckering). I will not say that the trick of making the edge of the brooched sleeve disappear over the arm in a *curve* is peculiar to our group and the Menon Painter's work. It can be seen on vases of Psiax and the Nikoxenos Painter and other Andocideans. For foils, see Welter, pl. 8: *B.S.A.*, 19:230 f.; *Mon. Inst.*, 10: pl. 23 (= Pfuhl, fig. 360); Beazley, *Vases in America*, p. 9, fig. 4.

The head of Apollo gives an almost ideal opportunity of studying how the Menon Painter is related to the artist of our group in his drawing of male heads; for here we have as good a foil as could be desired, the head of Apollo on the "Alkyoneus" cup painted by Phintias (F.R., *op. cit.*, 1:171, pl. 32). The more closely related the foil is to paintings with which it is contrasted, the more enlightening is its difference. And on this cup, Phintias approaches at so many

significant points the style of the painter of the Munich eye-cup that I am convinced that he was a pupil of this artist when he painted it.[9] Compare with the head of Apollo on Phintias' cup and with one another: (1) the head of the Apollo of the Philadelphia amphora; (2) the head of the youth with Boeotian shield on the Munich eye-cup; (3) the head of the falling warrior on the New York cup. The profile of Phintias' Apollo very much resembles that of the Philadelphia figure, and the likeness would be even more readily felt if the nostril line of the former were away. The drawing of the hair (on the temples at least) is not similar; but take, here, for comparison the youth on the Munich eye-cup. But though it so closely resembles these two heads, I do not think that anyone would hesitate to say that the head of Apollo on the Alkyoneus cup is by a different hand. It was painted by one whose conventions of drawing and execution were much the same, but whose touch was unmistakably coarser and less deliberate. On the other hand the Philadelphia head needed only this foil to be recognized as undoubtedly by the same hand as the heads to which I have referred on the Munich and New York cups. The rough correspondence of the profile of Phintias' figure with the profile of the Philadelphia Apollo makes us see how exact is the correspondence between the Philadelphia Apollo and the falling figure of the New York cup. It is not only that the features have the same stamp: they are traced with the same soft and slow movement of the hand. Not only the profile but the hair hanging over the temples of the Philadelphia figure has its counterpart, in the hair of the figure of the New York cup, where one can match its unusual denseness and the regularity of the ripple of each curl. Perhaps the characteristic touch of the artist of our group is nowhere more obvious on the Philadelphia amphora than in the extraordinarily *even* waving of each lock of this figure's hair. The Apollo of Phintias does not wear the hair of his forehead in the same fashion as the Philadelphia Apollo and the New York figure and thus gives no foil to them in

[9] Note in the technique of the Alkyoneus cup: (1) *incision* for interior detail; (2) *white* for wreaths (cf. the Munich eye-cup) and again for the feathers of arrows; (3) iris with pupil rendered as circle with dot. Observe these details of drawing: (*a*) lines on thigh corresponding to the characteristic Y marking of our painter, though quite differently rendered. The surface anatomy throughout appears closely related, though it is certainly a different system; (*b*) stylizing of the cushion (cf. the Munich amphora of the Menon Painter, fig. G) and of the quiver (cf. the New York cup). Zahn thought that the Berlin hydria no. 1897, which Beazley now believes to be a work of the Menon Painter (*J.H.S.*, 47:92), was a very early work of Phintias, whom the German scholar identifies with the Menon Painter (F.R., 3:236).

a

b

The Munich Amphora (Reverse).

this respect. But had the Menon Painter wished to render hair in the manner in which Phintias' Apollo wears it, in shortish locks which grow longer and more curled at the tip as the painter works toward the ear, he would have executed it as it is drawn on the head of the youth on the Munich cup—the locks crowded, but showing the most laborious neatness of line, spacing, and gradation.

The Brescia, Madrid, and Munich amphorae of the Menon Painter corroborate the evidence afforded by the Philadelphia vase. I will conclude my argument by noticing certain very striking clues given by the Munich amphora (pl. 5; figs. G and H). With these, the case for assigning our seven vases to the Menon Painter nearly reaches demonstration.

Compare the Herakles of the black-figured side of the amphora (pl. 5*a*) with the Herakles of the aryballos. Reference to comparable figures of Herakles on other vases will disclose significant resemblances between the aryballos and the amphora. If the aryballos and the amphora are by the same hand, we are likely to find the artist repeating himself in the parts drawn with least self-consciousness: in the more elaborate detail, there will not be very close agreement. In the drawing of the manes and of the chitons the two figures differ widely; but so do corresponding features in the representations of Herakles by the Andokides Painter (F.R., pl. 133; Pfuhl, fig. 316) and Euphronios (F.R., pls. 22, 61). However, in details which interest the artist little and are executed without very much thought or elaboration, the likeness is too striking to be a mere coincidence. Note especially: (*a*) the relation of the hair on the forehead to the snout of the lion's skin just above it; (*b*) the handle and finial of the sword; (*c*) the angle at which the sword hangs and the relation of the handle and finial to the thigh and back respectively; (*d*) the line followed by the lower edge of the lion's skin; it is curious that in archaic vase-painting this scarcely ever takes the curves given it on the aryballos and the Munich amphora; (*e*) the very unusual treatment of the beard of Herakles (flecked with red spots).[10] It recalls the fondness of the painter of the Munich eye-cup for rendering hair by stippling (which is in fact used for the hair of the Herakles of the aryballos).

I do not think a third vase with a figure of Herakles can be found which repeats all the points in which the Herakles of the aryballos

[10] The use of white spots to indicate hair that is turning gray is hardly a parallel (Graef, *Akropolisvasen*, pl. 52, 842, pl. 74, 1271*a*).

resembles that of the Munich amphora. Of the very many vases available for contrast, I refer to some especially relevant: the works of the Andokides Painter and Euphronios just cited, and further, *W.V.*, 1888, pl. 5*c* (Exekias); *J.H.S.*, 19: pl. 9; Leroux, *Vases de Madrid*, pls. 8 and 12; P. Gardner, *Ashmolean Vases*, pl. 2; Gerhard, *A.V.*, pl. 36, 54, 68, 84; F.R., 3: 226, fig. 109.

An inconspicuous detail of the black-figured side of the amphora (pl. 5*a*) gives an important connection with the New York cup, the peak or projection at the bottom and rear of the body of the chariot. This is a part where we should expect an artist to repeat himself; in the details amusing to render, the decoration of the body, lashings, ribbing of spokes, variety is natural. If the New York and Munich chariots are compared, it will be seen that there is an extraordinary correspondence in the form of the peak and its relation to the inner circumference of the wheel and to the nearest edge of the broad end of the spoke which crosses the body above it. If one looks for the same combination elsewhere, one finds that there is no peak, or that it is of a different shape, or obscured, or projects beyond the wheel, or that the end of the spoke is differently related to it. The nearest examples which I have found (F.R., pls. 23, 154 [2], Pottier, *V. du Louvre*, pl. 82, F 285, *J.H.S.*, 47:68, fig. 3, pl. 13) are further than the rendering on the New York cup from the version to be seen on the Munich amphora.[11]

The horses again give a point for comparison with the New York cup. However, in their interior detail (pl. 5*b*) there is hardly any evidence either for or against the attribution of the cup to the hand that painted the Munich amphora. Taken with the horses of the Philadelphia vase, the horses of the Munich amphora show two details to be characteristic of the Menon Painter, the form of the nostril (a loop whose ends tend to curve in, set with its longest axis inclined to that of the head) and the line of the masseter (which tends to curve rather suddenly and end in a wavy prolongation). The New York cup shows neither; the nostril there is set in the head in the same way, but is not quite of the same form, and the forward end of the masseter does not seem to curve at all. But the scale of the

[11] Of the vases I mention as having renderings of this detail not very unlike the treatment on the New York cup and Munich amphora, the hydria of F.R., pl. 154 (2) is probably by the Menon Painter himself (Beazley, with acknowledgments to Zahn, *J.H.S.*, 47:92, note 63), and three of the remaining four have been assigned by Beazley to an artist he regards as "almost the brother" of the Menon Painter, i.e., the Antimenes Painter (*J.H.S.*, 47:67 f., 88, 91).

Fig. G. The Munich Amphora (Obverse).

cup hardly permitted a nostril of the characteristic form; while the Brescia amphora shows that the Menon Painter sometimes used a simpler rendering of the masseter.[12]

The figure of Hermes in the same scene gives a link with the New York cup in the draping of his mantle (p. 42).

The red-figured side of the Munich amphora (fig. G) has a great deal that bears on our question.[13] It is fortunate that we have for a foil to it the amphora of the Andokides Painter also in Munich (F.R., pl. 4), with a closely related subject and astonishing similarities in detail; in fact, I believe it possible that these two amphorae were painted at the same time in the same workshop in something like competition. Notice the much greater laboriousness of the Menon Painter's decoration. The effect is indeed richer on the Andokides Painter's vase; but he has not worked so hard for it as the Menon Painter in the corresponding part of his drawing. No feature of the Andokides Painter's ornament, rich as that is, cost him very much time, most of the motives were executed quickly and easily. On the other vase, the detail is very much more regular in arrangement and deliberate in execution. It is specially instructive to compare the treatment of the legs of the couches, the ornament on which is so nearly identical in its motives and so different in its execution. The comparison makes conspicuous in this work of the Menon Painter the peculiarly lingering and regular quality which is characteristic of the Munich eye-cup and its group.[14] At the same time, the Andokides Painter's scene is a much more subtle and effective composition. As a decorative design the Menon Painter's scene shows precisely the failing we noticed on the smaller vases. Ingenious and new, it is too formal, its balance is too mechanically neat.

With this weakness in composition, the Munich amphora, like the vases of our group, combines some very venturesome drawing. The

[12] In any case, it is possible that the crack in this part of the New York cup has damaged the line. If the hydria of F. R., pl. 154 (2) is by the Menon Painter, my argument is perhaps strengthened.

[13] The restored portions are indicated in our figure.

[14] Notice that while the legs both of the table and the couch have their edges strictly parallel on the Andokides Painter's vase, on the other piece the (unrestored) table leg tapers and the (unrestored) leg of the couch is concave. The outline of the leg of the couch on the Menon Painter's amphora is specially noted as an unusual rendering for the time in Miss Richter's *Ancient Furniture* (p. 64). Are not these instances of the tactful counterplay so characteristic of the management of adjacent lines in our group? See the edges of the geison of the helmet on No. 5 and again No. 6 (not parallel but delicately set off). See also the tendency in the group to avoid dull parallels or symmetries in the plotting of surface detail (p. 23, note 22).

Menon Painter in this red-figured scene has taken almost every opportunity of presenting daring views. The Andokides Painter draws the one foot of the table which is in front view on such a timidly small scale that it almost escapes notice; the Menon Painter boldly makes the frontal foot of his table very large. The kantharos is represented in strict profile by the Andokides Painter and in silhouette at that; in the Menon Painter's scene, the handles of the kantharos are frontal. The Andokides Painter draws the left foot of Herakles in profile, the Menon Painter exposes the upper side of the foot of Dionysos.

Last, to the significant repetitions noticed on the black-figured side (p. 45 f.) can be added others on the red-figured reverse of the Munich amphora, in the superficial anatomy. The most interesting markings can be studied in Reichhold's drawing, F.R., 1:151. There we find renderings which we saw to be characteristic of the group of the Munich eye-cup; ankle bone marked by two converging lines, a tendency to mark protuberances ignored by other painters, the two lines on the thigh diverging downwards, the serratus magnus indicated by straight or slightly curved lines. The markings are a little less firmly traced than on the vases of the group; but on large amphorae we hardly expect to find such details carried out with the concentration devoted to them on the cups and aryballos. The correspondence between the right leg of the Munich silen and the right leg of Herakles on No. 2 is especially striking.

VI

Chronology

The chronological order of the seven vases which I have assigned to the Menon Painter is a question of some interest. The Munich eye-cup (No. 1) is probably the latest vase of the list, and is certainly the latest of the three red-figured pieces. It shows more independence of black-figured technique than Nos. 2 and 3, is thorough-going in its use of relief line for contours, and seems to exhibit something of the taste for enlivening the tone of the drawing with dark patches which is characteristic of ripe archaic vase-painting.[1] This cup, moreover, shows our painter's boldest and most developed drawing. I am inclined to think that No. 2 is a little earlier than No. 3. What the battle-scenes have in common as designs is more natural and successful on the aryballos; the battle on the New York cup seems, as a composition, to be a rather unhappy *rechauffée* of the groups of the aryballos. The armor and drapery of the aryballos is somewhat more old-fashioned; one warrior's chiton on the New York cup has two box-pleats, no chiton on the aryballos more than one (see Langlotz, *Zeitbestimmung,* 83); on the New York cup, only one figure has the Corinthian helmet in the down position, against two on the aryballos; one figure of the New York cup appears to have an Attic helmet of the form with *hinged cheek-piece* which in ripe archaic drives out the "up" Corinthian helmet and Attic helmet with rigid cheek-piece. Last and most cogent, some of the figures of the aryballos still have the outline of the hair incised. The black-figured plates are not necessarily earlier than the red-figured pieces of this list, though we can hardly doubt that this painter's earliest work was in the black-figured technique.

Nos. 4 and 5 are so close to the New York cup in subjects and treatment that they may well belong to the same period of the artist's career. As he developed as a red-figure painter, his red-figured style doubtless became "purer," more free of black-figured survivals; but it does not follow that he abandoned his first technique. In fact, in some points the plates seem to show the influence of red-figure pro-

[1] Apart from the patch on the quiver, which can be matched on No. 3, notice the peltast's Thracian cloak, the frontlet of the crouching warrior, the shield staple of the bending warrior and the patch on his shoulder flap, the shield device no longer relieved by incision.

cedure. Color is perhaps more sparingly used than is the rule in late black-figured; and if the reproductions do not mislead, the ankle of Dionysos on No. 7 is rendered by two strokes. This is the Menon Painter's convention for the ankle in *red-figured,* and is conditioned of course by the peculiarities of the relief-line tool. The natural rendering in black-figured, where the graver is used for this detail, is a hook (to be seen on the Brescia amphora and No. 4). The "red-figured ankle" is observable on a fragment from the Acropolis which has many marks of red-figure influence (Graef, *Akropolisvasen,* pl. 109, 2587). This detail of the Dionysos is evidence that it was painted later than the other plates. We have already seen that while there is good reason to think that Nos. 4, 5, and 6 were painted about the same time (in fact as a series), No. 7 is separated from them by size and subject.

On the chronology of the amphorae in relation to that of the smaller vases, it may be hazardous to venture an opinion. The Brescia amphora is probably the earliest of the works which can be attributed to the Menon Painter. It is entirely in the black-figured style and, so far as I have been able to determine, does not show the influence of red-figured technique, and, moreover, the subjects and their handling are in the stock manner of black-figured. I believe that the Madrid amphora in mixed technique is earlier than the wholly red-figured amphora in Philadelphia painted for Menon. The Madrid amphora has the signature of Andokides, the employer of the Andokides Painter. If the Andokides Painter, as is generally held, invented red-figured vase-painting, it was from this artist that his fellow-workman the Menon Painter learned the red-figured style; and arguing a priori, one would judge that red-figured work for Andokides, who employed the inventor of this style, is earlier than red-figured work for Menon. Unless the Philadelphia amphora was a special commission, painted in time spared from the service of Andokides, it is a later work than the Madrid amphora. The Hippokrates amphora in Munich is probably later than the Madrid amphora; although it is still in mixed technique, I am not sure that it is any earlier than the vase in Philadelphia with Menon's signature. If our artist and the Andokides Painter were still associated when the Hippokrates amphora was painted (p. 48), it does not follow that they were both still in the workshop of Andokides, whose signature appears neither on the Hippokrates amphora nor on the vase of the Andokides Painter which seems to be its companion piece. Nor is the Hippokrates

amphora less closely connected than the Philadelphia amphora with the smaller vases, which, as we shall finally see, are to be dated toward the end of the Menon Painter's career, when he had ceased working for others and owned a pottery. Certain details of drawing on the Hippokrates amphora are very advanced, and I may add that it is the first of the Menon Painter's amphorae to foreshadow his use (on the smaller vases) of a reserved border for the crown (as opposed to the krobylos) of the hair. The tuft over the forehead of Dionysos has the edge reserved. The drapery of the short chitons is treated in a fashion which is comparatively late according to Langlotz's convincing theory of the development of drapery in archaic art; the folds are closely crowded and the edges run sharply up and down on either side of box-pleats. It is the same rendering as that which causes Langlotz to regard the Andokides Painter's amphora in Munich (which I suppose to be a companion piece to the Hippokrates vase) as the latest of that artist's works (*op. cit.*, 26). The chiton of the horseman of the Philadelphia amphora is draped in much the same fashion, and I am inclined to think that the Hippokrates amphora in Munich and the amphora with Menon's signature in Philadelphia are not far from contemporary with one another and are a little earlier than any of the small vases.[2]

The small vases are probably later than any of the amphorae, for the Menon Painter seems to have been his own master when the former were painted. I may recapitulate the evidence for this:

1. He was able to leave the accessory decoration of the New York cup (after setting a pattern) to a subordinate, but not the neck and handle ornament of the amphorae, which quite plainly show his peculiar touch.

2. The shape and plan of the New York cup is as unconventional as anything in the decoration.

3. None of the smaller vases is very much earlier than the New York cup, though two may be considerably later.

[2] But while Langlotz' view of the development of drapery must be accepted, its application to the dating of any given vase is not a simple matter, since the older treatments of drapery are by no means driven out by the more advanced renderings. On a black-figured hydria with the same "love-name" Hippokrates (*B. M. Vases*, 2:31, fig. 38), the treatment of drapery is remarkably old-fashioned, and two at least of its figures are actually clad in the old Attic peplos. The red-figured side of the Menon Painter's Hippokrates amphora and the black-figured side of the Andokides Painter's companion piece show treatments of drapery more antiquated than those on their respective reverses. I can claim that my chronology for the vases of the Menon Painter stands the test of Langlotz's criterion fairly well; the "earliest" piece (the Brescia amphora) does not show a single box-pleat, while the two vases which I tend to think his latest works (my No. 1 and No. 7) show very close folds. But in the intermediate pieces a straightforward development cannot be traced.

Fig. H. The Munich Amphora (Reverse).

4. The smaller vases are adapted to his limitations; the amphorae take no account of them.

If Langlotz is correct in his attribution of the Sokles plate to the Menon Painter (see p. 4, note 5), the argument that our artist was independent in the period of his small vases is not weakened, as the signature of Sokles is a forgery (Pottier in Hoppin, *R.F.V.*, 2:420).

Assuming that the Hippokrates, whose name is inscribed on the Munich amphora of the Menon Painter, is the younger brother of Kleisthenes,[3] we have a *terminus ante quem non* for the vase which seems to represent the midpoint of our master's career. It must have been painted after the return of the Alkmaionidai in 511–10 B.C. An objection to the identification is that Hippokrates was of mature age at that date, for his son Megakles cannot have been very young at the time of the latter's ostracism in 487–86 (Aristotle, Ἀθ.πολ. 22.5; I.G., i.² 908). But not all καλός-names are erotic (Langlotz, *Zeitbestimmung*, 43 ff.). Langlotz has revived and added new weight to Studniczka's opinion that the hιππαρχος καλος of the vases of Epiktetos and others is not an ordinary love-name but a compliment to the brother of Hippias (*Zeitbestimmung*, 54 f.). The inscription on the Munich amphora of the Menon Painter may express nothing more than partisanship.[4] The view that the Hippokrates of the inscription is the brother of Kleisthenes gains plausibility from the use of the name Megakles on vases decorated by slightly later painters of the Andocidean group. It is highly probable that the Megakles praised and perhaps depicted by Euthymides and Phintias (*A.Z.*, 1873, pl. 9, Hoppin, *R.F.V.*, 1:431; *J.H.S.*, 12: pls. 20, 21) is the son of Hippokrates.[5] Both Euthymides and Phintias as Hoppin saw

[3] Studniczka, *Jb. Arch. I.*, 2:161. It cannot be Hippokrates the son of Ariphron, στρατηγός of 426–25 (I.G., i.² 324), whose καλός-period cannot have begun much before 475—later than this vase can possibly be. The name also occurs on a late b.f. hydria (p. 52, n. 2).

[4] The party's "jeune premier" naturally gets the compliment, not its leader Kleisthenes: just as, with Epiktetos, it is Hipparchos, not Hippias, who is καλός. One must perhaps resist the temptation to suppose that hιπ[π]οκρατες καλος is a deliberately malicious echo of Epiktetos' hιππαρχος καλος.

[5] The third Μεγακλες καλος occurs on the well-known pinax (Ἀρχ.Ἐφ., 1887, pl. 6). Here the erasure of the name seems to identify the Megakles of the pinax with the victim of the ostracism of 487–86. It is true that Megakles the son of Kleisthenes is also said to have been ostracized. But the evidence for his banishment (Lysias, xiv. 39, Pseudo-Andok., iv. 34) is not above suspicion, while that for the ostracism of his cousin the son of Hippokrates is unimpeachable. If the Megakles of the pinax and vases is after all the son of Kleisthenes, the case for the identification of the Hippokrates of the Munich vase with the brother of Kleisthenes is very little weakened. In any event, we have in the second generation of the Andocidean school signs of its adherence to the Alkmaionidai, and the politics of its first generation may well have been the same.

(*Euthymides and His Fellows,* 37) stand very close to the Andokides and Menon Painters; the former are in fact the second generation of a tradition of which the latter were the founders. This school is in the second generation strongly attached to the Alkmaionidai, as is indicated not only by its praise of Megakles but also by the shield device of a silen given to sympathetic figures (F.R., pls. 14 and 81).

Fig. I. The Morgan Epiktetos.

There are substantial grounds for believing that the silen was a badge of the Alkmaionidai—in fact that of its cadet branch, the house of Hippokrates. The emblem of Kleisthenes, the head of the family, is rather the triskeles (which can be abridged to a single leg), if Seltman is right in connecting this emblem with the Alkmaionidai (*Athens, its History and Coinage,* 21 f.).[6] Nor must we lose sight of the fondness

[6] *a.* A silen is the device borne by the figure Megakles (probably representing the son of Hippokrates) on the Acropolis pinax. Note, by the way, how close is the analogy with Alkibiades' blazon Eros (Plutarch, *Alcibiades* 16); a silen in the archaic period would mean the same as an eros in the time of Alkibiades.

b. Vase-paintings of Hippokrates' date perhaps show that it was used by Hippokrates himself. At any rate, Epiktetos, who was almost certainly on the other side as an adherent of the Peisistratidai, paints as the device of *unsympathetic* figures *not only the triskeles but also the silen.* I would not cite the signed vase Louvre G 5 (Hoppin, *R.F.V.,* 1:327), where there is nothing to show whether the artist sympathizes with the hoplite or the archer shooting at him; but see vases ascribed by both Langlotz and Beazley to Epiktetos, the Reggio cup, *Ausonia,* 7; 173 (giant with silens' mask on his shield) and the Palermo cup, *J.H.S.,* 12:340 (figure, on what appears to be the losing side, with triskeles); Langlotz, *Zeitbestimmung,* 36, Beazley, *A.V.,* 25, nos. 9 and 13. Further, a kylix belonging to Mrs. Josephine P. Morgan of Princeton and ascribed to Epiktetos by Beazley when I consulted him, shows *silen,* pair of *shoes,* pair of *greaves,* as the devices of warriors victoriously attacked by two riders, close to one of these riders being the inscription καλος. The greaves and shoes may

of the Andocidean group, in its first as well as its second generation, for Delphic subjects: the struggle for the tripod, and the Apolline triad which has a connection with actual sculptures of the Alcmaeonidean temple and is seen in the work of the Menon Painter himself on the Madrid and Philadelphia amphorae. This is especially striking when we notice that the group of Epiktetos and the Euergides Painter, in which we find the Hipparchos inscriptions,[7] avoid these subjects. It is true that the latter work chiefly on cups, and so have fields not so well suited as the large panels of certain Andocideans

travesty the Alcmaeonidean leg or triskeles, for they seem unexampled in vase-painting as shield devices, and the date of the Morgan cup fits singularly well with this interpretation. For, to judge by the treatment of hair and drapery, this vase does not belong to Epiktetos' earlier or Hipparchos period, but groups with a signed piece which Langlotz dates shortly after 510 (*Zeitbestimmung,* 112 ff. and table, 117)—thus in the troubled time between the return of the Alkmaionidai and the hegemony of Kleisthenes, when it was still safe to risk a veiled sneer at the restored exiles. On the other hand, just the opposite is done by Oltos, who was probably a pupil of the Andokides Painter (Beazley, *Vases in America,* 7) and thus belongs to the group in which we find the use of names of Alkmaionids. He gives the device of a silen to a sympathetic figure on the vase attributed by Beazley, *A.V.*, 13, no. 29, and figured in Hoppin, *R.F.V.*, 1:171, the triskeles to a sympathetic figure on British Museum E 16 (attributed by Beazley, *A.V.*, 14, no. 41), British Museum E 17 (Beazley, *A.V.*, 14, no. 38), New York, 21.88.174 (Beazley, *A.V.*, 15, no. 46), Louvre G 17 (attribution of Pottier and Beazley, *A.V.*, 14, no. 42, *W.V.*, 1890–91, 10). In the last case, the setting is very interesting; the figure is *Odysseus,* and he is represented in a *chariot,* with *Hermes* standing in front of the horses. Does it commemorate, or discreetly express a hope for, the return of the exiled Kleisthenes, grandson of the Olympic chariot-victor Alkmaion?

c. Seltman's identification of the triskeles with the Alkmaionidai, useful if not indispensable to me here, cannot be dismissed as a clever guess, even if we do not accept his views about other heraldic types. If it were that, one would expect the vase-paintings to confute it; for a very little would do so, a leg shield opposed to a triskeles shield, or either of these to a silen shield; a sympathetic triskeles figure in Epiktetan work, or an unsympathetic one in work of the Andocidean group. In a patient, though necessarily not exhaustive study of shield devices, I have found only the following objections to Seltman's triskeles theory, none of which are fatal. (1) The triskeles (or the leg) is, very rarely, found on non-Attic vases. But it is only supposed that the Alkmaionidai adopted the badge, not that they invented it; (2) the triskeles, where it is sympathetic, is not always the device of the most prominent figure; (3) my interpretation of the Morgan cup, which if correct strongly supports Seltman, depends somewhat on the absolute singularity of the shoes and greaves as shield devices on vases. But shoes are found on gems and seal impressions, objects which often repeat the shield devices of vases: Lippold, *Gemmen und Kameen des Altertums und der Neuzeit,* pl. 98, nos. 9 and 10 (cf. nos. 16 and 18), *Not. Scav.*, 1883 (August), pl. 11 (in *Mem. d. Lincei,* series 3, 11), nos. 343, 355, 356, 357. However, unless any of these are as early as the Morgan cup (which is very doubtful), the objection is not formidable. In fact, far from upsetting Seltman's theory, the vase-paintings, quite apart from the examples just cited, tend to favor it; for "partisan" cases (triskeles given to a figure definitely divine or heroic or sinister, such as Athena, Iolaos, a giant, an Amazon, or Ares playing an ugly rôle) are sufficiently common.

[7] The name Hipparchos is found not only on works of Epiktetos or his underlings (Beazley, *A.V.*, 24–28, nos. 8, 10, 14, 16, 23, 24, 29; p. 29, nos. 5, 15) but also on a cup decorated at least in part by a follower of the Euergides Painter (Beazley, *A.V.*, 37, bottom).

for such scenes. But Phintias contrives to adapt to a kylix the struggle for the tripod, a theme which both the Andokides Painter and the "brother of the Menon Painter" (the Antimenes Master),[8] as well as Phintias himself, depict on large vases; while another Andocidean, Oltos, has the same subject on a skyphos.[9] It is thus not unlikely that the first generation of the Andocidean school were partisans of the Alkmaionidai, especially as the remarkably wide gulf *in technique* as well as style between the Andocideans and Epiktetos is a sign that their relations were not friendly. There is nothing fantastic in the idea that the Kerameikos, like the rest of Athens, was broken up into political camps. The very custom of inscribing καλός-names involved such divisions. In the circumstances of the times, to make a hero of any prominent youth was to side with his family's party. Finally, I may point out that the Munich amphora of the Andokides Painter, which on internal evidence I consider exactly contemporary with the Hippokrates amphora of the Menon Painter, is dated by Langlotz about 510 (*Zeitbestimmung*, p. 117, table). The dating to which the Hippokrates inscription points agrees very neatly with Langlotz's scheme.

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[8] The phrase is Beazley's (*J.H.S.*, 47:91).

[9] Hoppin, *R.F.V.*, 2:357, 363 for Phintias; *ibid.*, 1:33 for the Andokides Painter; *J.H.S.*, 47:89, fig. 22 for the Antimenes Painter, on whose same vase appears a minor scene showing the supposed Alcmaeonidean emblem, a leg, on one of the shields. The love-name of this hydria, Euphiletos, appears on a vase with what is possibly an Apolline subject (Sambon, *Collection Canessa*, p. 17); see Beazley, *J.H.S.*, 47:87, note 55. For Oltos, see Beazley, *A.V.*, 12, no. 11.

CONCLUSION

The seven vases of my group are the work of one artist, the Menon Painter. I have been helped in my investigation by a number of secondary clues: peculiarities of technique which are confined to the group and the recognized works of the Menon Painter, and recurring conventions of drawing. But my case rests not on these but on an identity of style which the appropriate foils render objectively plain. This style is above all determined by a singular deliberateness of temperament, expressed in the toilsome minuteness of the execution, the brooding regularity and watchful tact of the line, the smoothness of the forms, the recherché elegance of the types, the patience of the artist's struggle with perspective; further, in a certain cool independence. He takes time to go his own way, in technique, in adaptation of motives, in design, even in fabric where he controls it. This independence falls short of originality only because it is in great part reminiscent; what against the background of contemporary red-figured painting seem eccentricities, are really archaisms. His defects as well as his qualities proceed from this deliberateness, which robs his line of flow and paralyzes his figures and his composition. His best painting is that of his latest period, when he has learned his limitations and is free to obey them. His masterpieces are his black-figured plates, which show most self-knowledge and completest adaptation of his talents. But all his small vases are charming and notable works, and in their light the Menon Painter is a vastly more interesting personality than we could have guessed when only the amphorae were recognized as works of his hand.

a

b

The "Brachas" Cup.

APPENDIX

The "Brachas" Cup

I am inclined to agree with Langlotz' attribution of the cup with the love-name Brachas to the Menon Painter, though Pfuhl seems to reject it (sec. 445, p. 415) and Beazley has never included the vase among this artist's works. Drawings of this cup (which is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington) appeared in Klein's *Lieblingsinschriften*[2] (119, fig. 31); Jacobsthal published the accessory ornament (*Ornamente*, pl. 73, *b*, *c*); my plate 6 reproduces the figures.

One supposes that the resemblances to the red-figured side of the Menon Painter's amphora in Munich (fig. 7) had great weight with Langlotz, for they are very striking. In both works, the composition, though neat, has peculiar weaknesses, it is timidly loose and is too obviously symmetrical; moreover, though the themes are different, the outer figures contribute in essentially the same way to the general design. This becomes very clear if we refer to any work of an associate of the Menon Painter resembling the Brachas cup in subject; for example, Oltos' cup, British Museum E 40 (*W.V.*, *D.*, pl. 7 = Hoppin, *R.F.V.*, 1:154). Besides this, there are details which correspond very closely. Compare the bearded komast with the Munich silen in the drawing of the body and with the Munich Dionysos in the drawing of the face; notice also the fan-wise rendering of the fingers on both vases. Here again, foils are needed to bring home the full significance of these correspondences; I must be content to suggest that it will be very enlightening to study the bearded heads drawn by other Andocideans, especially Oltos, the Hermaios Painter, Psiax (whose silen is available), and the Cerberus Painter, noting the shape of the moustache and its relation to the anterior edge of the beard and also the relation of the whiskers and posterior edge of the beard to the ear.

But if I have proved the attributions advanced in the essay just concluded, the case is stronger still; for then:

(*a*) The Brachas cup reminds us of the Menon Painter's fondness for odd shapes and systems of decoration. Note in passing that the twofold base-border is in silhouette, like the border of the New York cup, and derives, like that again, from amphora-painting. Our artist's past as an amphora-painter betrays itself on both vases?

(*b*) Not only the Menon Painter's eccentricity, but his excessively painstaking elegance is evident here; in the accessory ornament just as much as in the execution of the figures with their abnormally refined relief drawing. How like the Menon Painter to choose the work-making chequer pattern for the rim!

(*c*) The Brachas cup does not disappoint us of the bold experimental drawing we expect of the Menon Painter. Observe the hands of the piping woman. I believe the rendering to be quite unusual. Ordinarily the far hand is either unobscured by the near hand, or partly obscured by and partly to one side of the near hand. But here the palm of the far hand can be seen through the open fingers of the near hand. Where can we see something very like this? On a lekythos assigned by Beazley with good reason to the Menon Painter (*J.H.S.*, 47:92; figured in *Collection du Dr. B. et de M. C., Paris, 19–21 mai, 1910,* pl. 16).

If the Brachas cup is a work of the Menon Painter, it becomes very difficult to deny him the cup in Compiègne (p. 33, note 1). The youth of the Compiègne vase is a more pleasing figure than the beardless komast of the other piece, but they are brothers.

I am tempted by the afterthought that the red-figured cup in Berlin (2267) from Chachrylion's pottery was decorated by the Menon Painter (Hartwig, pl. 2, 1 = Hoppin, *R.F.V.*, 1:149; silen balancing kantharos). Not only details (especially the hands, hair, and musculature) but the whole design, which fills its space cleverly without life being given to the figure, might seem to be in his style. Does it not remind us of the New York interior that the artist, attempting an animate creature in delicate equilibrium, has produced only a marionette? One almost imagines wires on the arms of the silen and a nail under the kantharos.

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